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THE ARCHETYPE OF FESTIVAL CULTURE: SYMBOLISM IN NAWRUZ AND KOREAN FESTIVITIES

SHIN GYU-SEOB, LEE JONG-OH

ABSTRACT

Although Persia played a major role as an archetypal culture, traditional scholarship holds that it degenerated into a "lost civilization," and only its intermediary role between Eastern and Western civilizations has been recognized. Even so, the customs and ritual ceremonies of Persia, particularly as seen in the festival of Nawruz (the New Year Festival), have the oldest cultural roots in the world, and their influence is still prevalent globally. There is a need to rediscover Persian civilization and culture, which has been pushed to the margins, to reinterpret its symbols, and to restore its position as an archetype. This paper utilizes the festival of Nawruz as a primary example of the lasting influence of Persian culture, as seen in the Iranian Festival of Fire, symbolism in certain numbers and rituals, and the correlation of several ritual images from ancient Persia to their more contemporary counterparts in Korea and other Asian regions.

Keywords: Persian culture, Nawruz festival, Korea, East Asian History, Symbolism of the Numbers, Significance of the Two Fishes, Festival of Fire

I. INTRODUCTION

Festivities and religion have an inseparable relationship, with many religious elements being reflected in festivities. The Iranian Nawruz festival (*naw* means "new" and *ruz* means "day") began with the ancient Sumerians[1] and flourished with Zoroastrianism, the religion of ancient Persia. Zoroastrianism, the official religion of the Achaemenid dynasty, had a great impact on Judaism, Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam. Nawruz consists of three elements: *Sofreye-Haft Sin* (the seven *s*'s table setting of the new year), *Chaharshanbe Suri* (the red Wednesday bonfire festival), and *Sizdah Bedar* (the thirteenth day in outdoors). This article deals with some of the specific symbols and traditions from these three elements, such as the symbolism behind the numbers seven and thirteen–which are regarded as numbers of fortune and misfortune, respectively, a belief that spread into Europe through Greece and persists to this day[2] – the background of the "Two Fishes

[1] Mehrdad Bahar (1994), p. 217.
[2] Gholamreza Tabatabayi Mozd (1995), p. 654.

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Design," and the Festivity of Fire. These elements are crucial to understanding the origin and significance of Nawruz. The purpose of this paper is to utilize the study of Nawruz to explore the deep academic distortion of the Humanities and culture as a whole. The neglect of a search for an academic archetype, or the roots of the study process, is tantamount to ignoring this distortion.

Nawruz is the largest festival in Iran, Central Asia, and the Caucasus. It marks the summation of the culture and tradition of these regions. This paper analyzes the cultural transmission process surrounding Nawruz, particularly with respect to its influence on the festivities of Korea. Ignorance of cultural archetypes leads to misconceptions and distortions, and this paper focuses on revealing such misconceptions in a careful manner. For instance, Zoroaster is remembered as the first spiritual leader in human society. Zoroaster's thought had a great influence on that of Plato in ancient Greece and on Lao-tzu's thought in ancient China. "Zoroaster is the vaunt-courier of Plato and the appearance of Plato is considered the resurrection of Zoroaster. Plato is the figure of reformation of Zoroastrianism and or even rescuer of Mazdaism."[3] "Religion and philosophy in ancient China can be explained by reference to Taoism. Explaining China without Taoism cannot be imagined."[4] I will deal with this topic in detail in the section on the symbolism of the number seven. The neglect of this kind of research is connected to a decline in the Humanities, including Eastern-Western academic genealogy.

II. BACKGROUND

The Persian civilization that established the Mesopotamian and Indus Valley civilizations played the role of archetype for the culture and customs that these regions came to practice as their own,[5] but according to Western logic, Persia degenerated into a "lost civilization," and its lasting influence has been neglected by scholars and historians ever since. Western discourse has dominated much of Asia for centuries, particularly in modern times, with the political control the West has exerted over the East. Persian civilization and culture have been marginalized. If a proper study of the many extant cultural and religious traditions is to be conducted, Persian history will need to be reinterpreted according to the archetypal role it played in the development of adjacent regions and beyond. The study of cultural archetypes is connected to the fundamental principles of study, however, and there are large difficulties with regard to the research procedure as a consequence. If the genealogy of such a transmission process is not established, certain elements of history and the Humanities cannot be properly understood.

Festivities reflect an aggregation of many elements of a culture. Nawruz is the largest festival of the ancient Iranians and in many ways represents the summation of the Iranian tradition. Festivities and religion have an inseparable relationship. The seasonal festivities, including Sadeh (the ancient Persian festival in mid-winter) and Mehregan (the ancient Persian festival of autumn), originated in

[3] Mase Henry et al. (2003), p. 108.
[4] Omid Ataii (2004), p. 384.
[5] Gyu Seob Shin (2001), p. 151.

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Zoroastrianism, and traditional Asian festivities in particular are closely related to religion. Most of the world's religions have their origins in the East, and when Eastern and Western festivities of today are compared, this is even more apparent. Until now, the Eastern roots of civilization have not been widely recognized, but if we look at Persian documents, discussion on this issue dates back to the middle of the twentieth century.[6]

The major festivities represented as originating from Christian culture and Greek mythology center around Lent, Easter, and Christmas. The festivities surrounding these holidays are closely intertwined with religious beliefs and symbols, but they embrace materialistic and hedonic elements as well. The roots of Western studies lie in Greece, and the origins of Western civilization are widely considered to be Hellenism and Hebraism. Eastern and Western civilizations have been separately researched without deviating from their respective boundaries, and there are not many studies in existence about the correlation between the ancient East and West. Regarding ancient Persian civilization, only its intermediary role between East and West has been emphasized, and its influence on other civilizations has either been neglected or concealed. It is the task of a researcher to discover concealed truth, and thus this paper sets out to find the archetype of Eastern and Western festivities. What relationship can we discern between Eastern and Western festivities, and what accounts for the similarities between them?

In order to answer these questions, we need to go all the way back to Persia's Achaemenid dynasty, the world's first empire. The Achaemenid dynasty was destroyed by Alexander, but the ancient culture and customs of Persia were transmitted to the West. We need to pay close attention to the Persian religious system, which has persisted from ancient times. Persian language and culture have spread extensively throughout Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Tajikistan, and Central Asia. The religious system of ancient Persia is connected to Mithraism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Sufism, Manichaeism, and Mazdaism. The fact that Mithraism was an ancient Persian religion that started in the central Iranian city of Kerman in the fifteenth century BC is not well known. This religion has many parallels in modern Christianity. As widely known in the West, Persia's virgin Goddess Anahita resembles Jesus' mother, Mary; Jesus resembles Mithra; and the celebrated birth date of Jesus, December 25, is identical to the birth date of Mithra.[7] Furthermore, ancient Persian mythology spread to Greece and helped shape early Greek mythology.

If the transmission and influence of Eastern traditions on Western religions are not unearthed, the connections between both genealogies will be broken, and the Eastern and Western religions will continue be researched within their respective academic boundaries, leading to the perpetuation of a mistaken view. Furthermore, the difference between Eastern and Western civilizations will continue to be magnified, which hinders the peaceful coexistence of civilizations. So far, even in the East, research regarding the origins and transmission of traditional festivities has hardly been conducted.

[6] Hashem Razi (1964), p. 26.
[7] Gyu Seob Shin (2014b), p. 95.

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III. THE CORRELATION BETWEEN PERSIAN AND EAST ASIAN HISTORY

The Yin-Yang and Five Element Theories of Taoism were influenced by the Amesha Sepand of Zoroastrianism. The Yin-Yang and Five Elements have been prevalent in Korean and Chinese thought for over two thousand years. Yin-Yang is connected with the dualism of Persia, and the Five Elements are tied to Amesha Sepand. Chinese thought and philosophy cannot be explained without Taoism. The most important document in Taoism, the I-Ching, was obtained from the old and mysterious knowledge known as *Ramal* in Persia."[8]

The Iranian people exerted significant influence on the political and cultural aspects of China's Tang dynasty,[9] so when Silla used the dynasty's power to unify the three kingdoms of Korea, Chinese culture spread and Chinese customs were established as Korean customs. This provided the opportunity for Persian culture, which was popular in China, to flow into the Silla dynasty. Because we traditionally search China for the origins of Korean culture, we must also raise the question: whence did Chinese culture originate? The correlation between Chinese and Persian civilizations, including the Korean peninsula, is well represented in the three following examples:

The fact that the ancient Korean peninsula adopted several characteristics of Persia's ancient civilization, culture, and arts is already partially recognized, but these facts are accounted for in greater detail in *Baztabe Tamadonhaye Parthia-Sassanid bar Se Padshahi dar Shabe Jajireye Kore* [The discovery of Persian (Parthian and Sassanid) cultural elements in the heritage of "the Three Kingdoms" of Korea]. Sotudeh-Nejad Shahab recounts the division of ancient Persia into the Achaemenid, Parthian, and Sassanid eras and discusses the different levels of political, cultural, and trade-related exchange that took place between Persia and East and West Asia. The Achaemenid dynasty ranged as far as western China. Thus, Persia had a significant influence on the societies of Korea, China, and Far East Asian countries from religious, conventional, and cultural perspectives. The Parthian and Sassanid civilizations and cultures also had an impact on ancient Korea through the Persianized Central Asia region.

China (*Chin* in Persian) is referred to as "*Sayini*" in the Avesta (the ancient Zoroastrian scriptures) and appears as one of the five Aryan regions. Sayini gradually evolved into "*Chin*" (middle Persian; sometimes rendered "*Sin*") and began to be referred to as the eastern province of greater Iran. *Sayini* (or *Sin*) was also one of the names of the sun. As the world's easternmost region, Chin was considered the origin of the sun.[10]

According to *Chinese National Geography,* Hu Barbarians ruled the Tang dynasty. From the aspect of terminology, "Hu" was transformed into "Hui." According to Chinese scholar Tan Hui Ju, in the present, "Hui" refers to Muslims, but in ancient China, "Huihui" had the meaning of the Persian language. "From the view of peoples, different opinions exist about the ethnicity of the Hu, including

[8] Omid Ataii (2004), pp. 383, 392.
[9] Sotudeh-Nejad Shahab (2004), pp. 99-103.
[10] Omid Ataii, (2004), p. 379.

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that of the Tang dynasty in China, where this term meant imported commodities from abroad and the peoples of various ethnic groups that usually included white people and Westerners. However, during the Middle Ages, the term Hu was commonly applied to Iranians."[11] "In the Middle Ages, the term Hu was used only in relation to Iranians."[12] "In Chang An, the capital of the Tang dynasty, the term Hu was used in relation to Iranians from the Middle East and West Asia."[13] During the Mongolian interference period around the end of the Goryeo dynasty, Goryeo and Ilkanid (1256-1353, a Mongolian empire within Persia) were both influenced by the Yuan Empire. After Persia collapsed in AD 642, following the Arab invasion, Persians flowed into China; the historical relationship between the two countries during this period is recounted in the following passage:

> *After the collapse of Persia, many Persians made their home in Jang An, which was the capital of the Tang dynasty at the time, and among the ethnic minorities in China there were a significant number of Iranians who were from Central Asia and Persia. Most of the Persians who resided within the capital, Jang An, were high officials of the Sassanid court and members of the upper class who had been the main figures of ancient Persia. Sassanid Persians are reported to have been the biggest influence on the Tang dynasty's imperial family, high officials, and upper class.*[14]

IV. THE ORIGINES AND SIGNIFICANCE OF NAWRUZ

1. Origins

The festivals of Middle Eastern Islamic countries might be expected to be related to Islam alone, but the Persian festival, which does not belong to the Arab region, goes back to the Sumerians, who established humankind's first civilization 7,000 years ago. According to researcher on ancient Iranian festivals Hashem Razi, "The Sumerian people were natives of the Iranian plateaus, and the Sumerians migrated to Mesopotamia to develop a glorious civilization. It is clear that Iran had been the origin and source of the oldest center of civilization and publication."[15] The Sumerians are regarded as having created the Nawruz new-year festival, but it was after the emergence of Zoroastrianism that Nawruz was fully established as a ritual ceremony. The Nawruz festival could boast of thousands of years' worth of history before Islam even entered Iran and Central Asia, and the Iranian people cherish the Nawruz festival, which has existed for thousands of years longer than the Islamic festivals, including the Eid-ul-Adha (pilgrimage religious festival) and the Eid-ul-Fetr (fasting religious festival).

"The oldest sign in the New Year festival of West Asia is related to the first Ur dynasty, and the festival marks the holy marriage between the Goddess of water and God of belief."[16] The term "Nawruz" first emerged in Persian documents with the Sassanid dynasty in the third century. It was also designated a holiday in the

[11] Sotudeh-Nejad Shahab (2005), p. 69, & Gyu Seob Shin (2014), p. 123.
[12] Sotudeh-Nejad Shahab (2004), p. 82.
[13] Sotudeh-Nejad Shahab (2004), p. 83.
[14] Sotudeh-Nejad Shahab (2004), p. 102.
[15] Hashem Razi (1964), 25-26; (2004b), pp. 40-41.
[16] Mehrdad Bahar (1994), p. 217.

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Parthian dynasty (247 BC–224 AD). During the Sassanid dynasty, Nawruz was celebrated as the most important day of the year. The kings of twenty odd different countries who were under Persia's rule at the time celebrated Nawruz by presenting an offering to the Persian king, Shahanshah. This act is depicted in engravings on the walls of the Apadana Court and the Hall of a Hundred Columns in Persepolis (showcase of Zoroastrianism), which appears to have been built for the specific purpose of celebrating Nawruz, but this is not mentioned in the epitaph of the dynasty. The great poet of medieval Persia Ferdowsi (940-1020 AD) wrote in his *Shahnameh* that Nawruz dates back to the era of the Persian king Jamshid in the mythological era, who is described as the most revered and wise king in Persian mythology.

2. Significance

Upon the arrival of the spring equinox (March 21), when day and night are of equal length, hundreds of millions of people greet the new year all over Iran, Mesopotamia (Iraq), Afghanistan, and Central Asia. In addition, the festival is celebrated in the northern part of Pakistan and among the Iranians who migrated to Zanzibar from Shiraz. The festival marks the end of the cold winter and the arrival of spring. Spring signifies goodness, and winter signifies evil, reflecting Persian dualism. The motif of good triumphing over evil is widespread in Asian culture.

Nawruz is celebrated on the first day of Farvardin, the first month of the Persian calendar. Previously, because of leap years, the date of Nawruz shifted one month every 120 years. In the late Sassanid dynasty, Nawruz was celebrated in summer. In 1078, King Malekshah ordered the philosopher, mathematician, astronomer, and poet Omar Khayyam (1048-1131 AD) to reform the calendar, and the date of Nawruz was set to the first day of spring, or the beginning of the zodiac calendar.[17]

Nawruz is the most treasured holiday and the largest cultural festival in Iran and Central Asia. People clean their homes inside and out and decorate them. Before Nawruz arrives, people bathe and change into new clothes. They wait for the exact moment of the spring equinox to be announced on radio or television. Family members stay at home until the exact moment comes, and when it does, they kiss the hands of the family elders as a sign of respect. They embrace one another and traditionally give coins or money. Cookies are served in the hope that the year will be as sweet as the cookies. Many people visit their homeland hometown or go traveling during Nawruz; they may also help the poor or pray for peace. Small mirrors are exchanged between people, rose water is sprayed into the air, and *esfand* (a common weed in the Middle East) is burned to ward off the evil eye. Traditionally, on the eve of the new year, celebrants grill fresh fish and vegetables and eat specially prepared rice called *polo* (*pilaw* in ancient Persian, *plov* in Central Asia, and *pilaf* in the West). After the rice and vegetables are prepared separately, they are stir-fried together in oil, and the resulting dish is called *sabzi polo mahi* (herbed rice with fish). Other traditional new-year foods

[17] Hashem Razi (2004), p. 24.

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include *reshte polo* (rice cooked with noodles) and *dolmehbarg*, which is cooked by wrapping grape leaves around cooked vegetables and meat and cooking the wrap again, similar to the Korean *kimbab*. Koreans and Iranians alike bring this type of food on short journeys.[18]

Before Nawruz begins, people dressed as *Haji Firuz* walk down the streets with their faces, necks, and hands painted black, wearing traditional red garb and conical hats, singing and playing tambourines.[19] *Haji Firuz* represents a martyred god connected to the slaying of Siyavash. The blackened face reflects the rebirth and secondary advent of Siyavash from the afterlife. The red clothing represents Siyavash's blood and the resurrection of the martyred god. The characteristic happiness of the *Haji Firuz* marks the celebration of rebirth and is intended to bestow blessings and growth on festival participants.[20] According to folklorist Mehrdad Bahar, Haji Firuz is the traditional herald of Nawruz, which is connected to the epic of Siyavash, derived from the Sumerian deity Dumuzi.

Preparations for Nawruz begin in the last month of the Persian calendar, *Espand* (February 20–March 20). In addition to cleaning and purchasing new clothing, people buy or plant flowers such as hyacinths and tulips. Iranians and Central Asians eat a kind of flour bread called *nan* dipped in a grain syrup called *samanu*. *Samanu* is made by grinding sprouted grain flour and then cooking it with mixed flour and malt. The traditional Korean pumpkin porridge and grain syrup resembles this dish. *Samanu* is one of the seven foods that start with the letter *s* that are served on the Iranian new-year table. The Iranian table setting, which has continued for thousands of years, has a philosophical significance that will be elaborated in a later section.

In the middle of the seventh century, before Islam spread into the Persian region, wine also appeared on the new-year table. At the commencement of the Islamic era, however, alcohol was prohibited and replaced with vinegar. From the perspective of origins, Iran's new-year table contains ancestral rituals that are not greatly different from Korean ancestral rites, and the seven foods served on the new-year tablecloth (*sofre* in Persian) can be regarded as a custom to allow the ancestors to eat.[21] The origins of ancestor worship that can be observed in Korea's seasonal customs can also be found in China and Persia. If we look closely, we can see that some of *Haft Sin*'s items are related to the worship on the holy trees.

Apart from *Haft Sin,* foods that appear on the new-year table include fish and eggs. Fish symbolize persistently moving life, and eggs symbolize fecundity. Oranges symbolize the Earth floating in the universe, while the mirror and lit candle symbolize a clean and bright heart pursued by truth-seekers. Even today, Zoroastrians place a candle in front of the mirror in order to reflect even more light. "Keeping candles lit was a measure to drive away demons from the homes, villages, and cities, and reading religious books or the Koran after the Islamic era

[18] Gyu Seob Shin (2010), p. 102.
[19] Hashem Razi (2004), p. 214.
[20] Mehrdad Bahar (1994), p. 219.
[21] Hashem Razi (2004), p. 49.

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was believed to drive away spirits."[22] The mirror is an important feature in Zoroastrian arts and architecture and is widely mentioned in Persian literature. Even today, Iranian stores follow the custom by decorating their shops with mirrors. When March approaches, various Iranian shops are crowded with people trying to buy fish. Fish patterns also appear on carpets and ceramics made by Iranians. Before the new year approaches, fish paintings can be observed in galleries and exhibitions, and various artistic works have the Two Fishes Design engraved on them.

V. THE SYMBOLISM OF THE NUMBER SEVEN

For the new year's meal, Iranians select seven food items whose names begin with the letter *s,* such as *sib* (apple), *sir* (garlic), *serke* (vinegar), *somagh* (spices), *samanu* (grain syrup), *sanjad* (a tree fruit that is shaped like a jujube), *siahdane* (black seed), *sabze* (wheat, barley, or lentil sprouts growing in a dish), *sepestan* (a sort of plum blossom), and *sonbol* (hyacinthus). Along with the seven food items, the following are also included on the new year's table: colored eggs, a mirror, a lit candle, oranges, daffodils, rose water, and goldfish. The seven foods that start with the letter *s* are called *Haft Sin* (*Haft* means "seven," and *Sin* is the letter *s* in the Persian language).[23]

The Iranian new year is traditionally linked to the Sumerians, who inhabited the Iranian plateaus before the Aryan people moved into Iran 3,000 years ago. Ali Akbar Dehkhoda (1879-1956, a famous linguist and author of a Persian dictionary) records that, "The earliest people to have been interested in the number seven were the Sumerians."[24] Taking this into consideration, some of the rituals might be seen as having been started by Sumer natives, but choosing foods that begin with the letter *s* is related to an aspect of Zoroastrianism. The letter *s* is significant in Zoroastrianism because it is the first letter in the word *Sepand* (holy) in the phrase *Amesha Sepand,* which means "immortal sacredness." The supreme deity of Zoroastrianism, Ahura Mazda, was known as "an eternal sacredness" that protected the people along with six angels, and these seven figures account for the veneration of the number seven.[25] The number seven was also connected to the seven known planets, and therefore some believe that the idea of the *Haft Sin* existed even before Zoroastrianism was established.

Zoroastrianism also bestows a symbolic significance upon the number three (as seen, for instance, in the three principles of Zoroastrianism: good words, good thoughts, and good deeds). The symbolism of the numbers seven and three was transferred to China and appears in the veneration of dates such as the third day of the third lunar month and the seventh day of the seventh month. "The five elements based on Persian beliefs, named Ordibehesht, Khordad, Espand, Shahrivar, and Amordad, become, for the Chinese, Fire, Water, Land (Earth), Gold, and Wood. From time immemorial, there have been civilized relations between Iranians and

[22] Mehrdad Bahar (1994), p. 212.
[23] Young Yeon Kim (1997), p. 321.
[24] Ali Akbar Dehkhoda (1998), pp. 23 and 487.
[25] Gholamreza Tabatabayi Mozd (1995), p. 654.

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Chinese, and in ancient times the flow of Iranian thoughts reached the Chinese. The Chinese had obtained the idea of Five Elements from the Iranians." "A Sufi believes that the number (3-5-7-9) is considered as the number of his own peculiarity in the ritual implements (Barsam or Barsom) of the Srosh (Yasht)."[26]The number of Barsam (sacred bundle of twigs) required differs in Zoroastrian religious practices. In Korea events like the women's spring play for pan-fried sweet rice cake with flower petals of March 3, Korean wrestling on May 5, etc., are similar to Iranian and Central Asian culture. The love poem (Ghazal in Persian) of Iran and Central Asia fails to exceed twelve lines in length to the extent possible and consists of five, seven, or nine.

Some of the most essential concepts of Zoroastrianism include hell, heaven, resurrection, the emergence of a messiah, and a final judgment. These concepts appear in monotheistic religions as well, including Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Mahayana Buddhism was also influenced by Zoroastrianism. Zoroaster (the founder of Zoroastrianism; Zartosht in modern Persian, Zarathustra in ancient Persian), introduced various festivals and rituals to worship the supreme deity, Ahura Mazda.

VI. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TWO FISHES

In a contemporary new year's tradition, Iranians send each other e-cards featuring pictures of fish. This tradition can be traced all the way back to the celebration of the Iranian and Central Asian new year, which commences at the spring equinox and the sign of Pisces, which is the final sign of the zodiac. The influence of Zoroastrianism is reflected in Buddhism through the Two Fishes Design as well: fish are the animals depicted as protecting Buddha.The Iranian new year is often referred to as a festival of movement, activity, effort, and life. The fish also symbolize the search for meaning within movement. Life is symbolized by the perpetual movement of the fish. In Korea, the Two Fishes Design is used as evidence that Buddhism had entered the southern region of Korea. "Indian-styled Buddhist decoration has remained on the front gate and in the inscription of the Suro emperor's tomb in Kimhae. The front gate of the tomb has the Two Fishes Design inscribed on it."[27] The Two Fishes Design can also be seen in the Iranian new-year table setting, which includes a bowl with two live fishes, reflecting the original dualism of Persian theology.

Before becoming the Aryan new year, Nawruz was the new year of the Sumerians, who entered Mesopotamia through the Persian Gulf, Iranian plateaus, and Khuzestan, in southern Persia around 4,000 BC. In this way, many seasonal customs were transferred from the Iranian plateaus into Mesopotamia.[28] The Sumerians carried with them rituals and customs, such as venerating fish: "'fish of God'—the symbol of clearing sin—and this pattern (the Two Fishes Design) were discovered in ancient Mesopotamia."[29]

[26] Omid Ataii (2004), p. 384.
[27] Su Il Jeong (2001), p. 520.
[28] Mehrdad Bahar (1994), p. 217.
[29] Su Il Jeong (2001), p. 520.

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The design also emerges in the paintings of ancient Persia's Elam kingdom. Besides the Two Fishes Design, the Two Animals Design (consisting of winged animals—horses, oxen, or lions—facing each other) originated in the Achaemenid era, and the Two Birds Design (which depicts two standing birds) can be traced to the Sassanid era (AD 226-642). The twin-bird stone artifact and gold tool featuring two winged animals facing each other that were found in Gyeongju, Korea, seem to indicate that the Silla dynasty had adopted these Persian symbols, along with the petal motif surrounding the two artifacts. The petal motif, a pattern made by sewing marbles around a sash, was the traditional pattern of the Sassanid era. The twin lion statues from the Silla and Goryeo eras also seem to parallel the Two Animals Design of the Achaemenid dynasty.

The ethnically Persian Tajik people of Central Asia have a new year's custom of serving food to the village elders who pray for the village's wealth, fortune, and health. Afterwards, homeowners would apply the remaining oil from the *plov* to the necks and horns of cows. They then tied two cows into one yoke and began the spring cultivation of the farmland. This ritual seems to be related to an engraving on a court pillar from the Achaemenid dynasty that shows two cows' heads. The ritual is a prayer for a good harvest and for peace between humans and animals.

The above evidence may resolve many puzzles surrounding Korea's ancient history. The two fishes engraved on the front gate of the Emperor Kimhae Suro's tomb and the fish-shaped designs seen in Buddhist temples are undoubtedly connected to Persian symbolism. The ancient presence of Iranian people in Central Asia and western China likely resulted in the transmission of the Two Fishes Design through India and present-day Pakistan, and from there the imagery disseminated into much of that part of the world.

VII. THE FESTIVAL OF FIRE AND THE SYMBOLISM OF THE NUMBER THIRTEEN

On the last Tuesday night before the new year, Iranians hold an event in which participants jump over a fire and shout, "*Zardi-ye Man Az To, Sorkhi-ye To Az Man*," meaning, "Take yellowness, illness, and weakness from me. Reddishness, freshness, and healthiness which you have, bestow them on me."[30] This event is called *Chahar Shanbe Suri. Chahar Shanbe* means Wednesday, and *Suri* means "red like fire." The event is part of the Festival of Fire held on the last Wednesday of the year, but people light bonfires the night before. The all-night fire is believed to protect souls from the power of darkness. Wednesday involves rituals intended to drive away evil spirits and a celebration of spending the day in peace. According to tradition, people believe that the spirits of ancestors visit on the last day of the year, and children wear shrouds, which have a symbolic significance regarding the ancestral visit from the world after death. People beat plates and pots with spoons while walking the streets and sometimes knock on doors to request food. This activity symbolizes beating out the last unlucky Wednesday of the year. The symbolic use of fire in the Iranian new year correlates to the early period of

[30] Ali Akbar Dehkhoda (1998), p. 7980.

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Zoroastrianism, in connection with the ancient Nawruz traditions. In addition, the significance of fire in new-year rituals can be observed in the Korean traditions of burning pine branches in a pile to welcome the first full moon of the lunar calendar, performing the *daljip* (sheaf)-burning ceremony, or participating in the "jwibullori" by burning the ridges between rice paddies and spinning cans of flames. In congruence with the symbolism of the advent of spring, Nawruz also represents the revival of nature. Amongst Ahura Mazda and the festivals that celebrate the holy fire, the most elaborate is Nawruz. Mehrdad Bahar's book *Jostarie chand dar Farhange Iran* records:

> *Like observing the crescent moon, there are festivities related to the holy period, such as the monthly signs of the Zodiac, the yearly Nawruz, Mehrgan (Persian festival of autumn since the pre-Islamic era), Sadeh (mid-winter festival observed by Zoroastrians), etc., and some of these festivities had seasonal characteristics as well as other purposes.*[31]

From this statement, we can infer that the moon phases emphasized in the Korean and Persian cultural areas were full and crescent, respectively. In Islamic regions, festivities such as Eid-ul-Fetr (end of fasting festival) begin with the appearance of the crescent moon.

Another correlation between Korean tradition and the Festival of Fire can be seen in food rituals. On the Tuesday night of the fire festival, celebrants eat special food and make wishes. Noodle soup is prepared and shared by all, and nuts and dried fruit of seven kinds are handed out to passers-by: pistachios, almonds, hazelnuts, figs, apricots, roasted peas, and raisins. Just as Koreans chew on nuts to ward off boils during the first full moon of the lunar calendar, Iranians chew on nuts or dried fruit called *azil* and pray that the new year will go well. The provision of mixed nuts known as *ajil-e Moshkel-Gosha* (nuts that resolve difficulties) is also a way of expressing gratitude for the health and happiness of the previous year.

In his book *Korea Folk Religious Research,* Korean folklorist Kim Tae Gon classifies new-year rituals into two types: personal ritual and group ritual. He explains that whereas the *daljip* (sheaf)-burning event is regarded as a group ritual event, eating nuts to ward off boils carries personal ritualistic event characteristics. In the Nawruz of Northern Iran and Central Asia, people would play the drums, guitar, and flute, wear traditional new-year clothing, sing, and participate in traditional games such as a wrestling event called the *Koshti* and tug-of-war. These same games mark the celebration of the Korean thanksgiving (*Chusuk*). In Korean festivities including Chusuk, a Pansori performance is held. Pansori is a Korean traditional genre of musical storytelling. The formation of Pansori consists of the connection of poetry and prose.

The connection of poetry and prose appeared in the Gatha of Avesta and was transmitted to India and Europe. The oldest document is the Gatha of ancient Persia. This sort of formation influenced Dunhwang literature in Western China. As a result, the connection between prose and poetry ("Gang" and "Chang" in Chinese characters, respectively) materialized in the combination of Prose-Poetry

[31] Mehrdad Bahar (1994), p. 210.

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Literature known as Gangchang. Thus, "clearly the literature of Prose-Poetry is not unrelated to the Pansori of the Korean novel."[32] Indeed origin of Korean civilizations and cultures has been discussed only in relation with those of China, but the origin of Pansori goes back to the Gatha of Avesta in ancient Persia, through Western China.[33]

Nawruz is best known for its Festival of Fire, but there is also a Festival of Water. Water symbolizes creation through the wetting of the earth that causes trees and plants to grow. It also symbolizes washing the body clean from the smokes of winter's fires. After the all-night fire ritual, Iranians pour water on one another at daybreak. This may correspond to a renowned Nawruz ritual often referred to by historians as the Abpashan event, which features water-pouring rituals and bathing ceremonies. A medieval Egyptian historian, Qalqashandi (1355-1418), mentions that at the first daybreak of the new year, Persian people would go to the spring waters and wash themselves. In relation to the Festival of Water, he writes, "Among Pakistan's Shia families, the adults will spray rosewater on the faces and hair of family members, with any remaining water being sprayed into the yard or parts of the garden: this custom has been passed down."[34] The Festival of Water has rituals related to praying for rain and the provision of water in the coming year.

To date, scholarship has traced the transmission route of civilization from India to Persia or Central Asia, but it is overwhelmingly evident that civilization and culture in fact began in Persia and spread throughout Central Asia and into South East Asia through present India or Tibet. According to Dr. Syed Sibte Hasan Rizvi in the preface of *Contemporary Persian Poets of Pakistan* (Vol. 1), prior to the sixth century BC, the term Hindu is apt to be used incorrectly, if related to the present India, and the term should be limited to the present Pakistan. With some exceptions, including the dynasty of King Ashoka of Maurya (317-180 BC), ancient Pakistan was typically part of Persianized territory. "Nowadays, some regions of India comprising the great territory had, since ancient times, contained Iranian civilizations and cultures. The ancient memories that are recognized as Indian have their origins in Iran; the civilizations of Mohenjodaro and Harrapa were the same as those of Baluchistan and Sistan."[35] In the aforementioned passage, 'some regions of India' stands for the present Pakistan. "Perhaps most people considered the division of India and Pakistan to be unnecessary and unnatural, but according to the historians, sociologists, and archaeologists, such a division has a long root and an ancient record. By contrast, the political combination, which sometimes happened, did not last so long."[36]

The features of India's *Holi* (the Aryan new year) festival or Thailand's *Songkran* (new year in Sanskrit) festival are similar to those of Nawruz, and therefore there is a need to compare and analyze them in greater depth.

[32] Su Woong Lee (1990), p. 168.
[33] Gyu Seob Shin (2008), p. 196.
[34] Hashem Razi (2004), p. 163.
[35] Omid Ataii (2004), p. 337.
[36] Rizvi (1974), p. 1.

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In particular, the ceremonial release of captive fishes in the *Songkran* festival is a Buddhist practiced rooted in Zoroastrianism. Buddhism is often said to have started from Hinduism, but Buddhism actually emerged from Brahmanism, and the word "Brahman" itself corresponds to the priest figure (*Mogh*) of Zoroastrianism.

To welcome Nawruz, Iran's public institutions enjoy a four-day holiday to celebrate the new year. Educational institutions and most Iranians enjoy the festivities for a period of thirteen days, and because the thirteenth day is regarded as a day of bad omens, everyone goes outdoors to prevent misfortune. This is called *Sizdah Bedar* (The Thirteenth Day in Outdoors) and is the final event of the new-year festivities. The symbolism and significance around the number thirteen began here. "On the thirteenth day, people go outdoors and consider the day unlucky and inauspicious."[37] The suspicion originated with the twelve constellations of the zodiac covering the twelve months of the year. Persian tradition held that "each constellation [would] rule the Earth for 1,000 years, and at the end of the last 1,000 years, the sky and the Earth [would] collide and result in chaos. The unluckiness of thirteen was the sign of the falling apart of the last world and system."[38]

For this reason, Nawruz is celebrated for twelve days, with the thirteenth day signifying a chaotic period. In the last event of the thirteenth day, the *sabze* (traditional herb) raised for the *Haft Sin* is thrown into a flowing stream to symbolize driving evil spirits away from the family. Before the disposal of the *sabze,* it is customary for single women to go outdoors, tie two shoots of grass together, and make a wish to meet their future husbands and get married before the next *Sizdah Bedar.*

VIII. CONCLUSION

The festivals of Eid-ul-Adha (pilgrimage festival) and Eid-ul-Fetr are widely known as Islamic festivals in Korea. In Eid-ul-Adha, pilgrims walk around the Kaaba seven times counterclockwise. From the aspect of number seven symbolism, the impact of Nawruz has traces remaining in this Islamic festivity. For the better recognition of Islam, the media in Korea allot much of their column space to coverage of these celebrations. Yet despite the fact that hundreds of millions of people across Asia celebrate Nawruz, the festival never received any coverage until the media started to report on it following my 2008 public speech in relation to an exhibition on Persian civilization. Although somewhat belated, an in-depth discussion about Nawruz, festivity cultures, and their original forms in different regions, including Iran, the Caucasus, and the Islamic countries of Central Asia must be undertaken.

The aim of this paper has been to confirm the importance of the festival archetype through the example of Nawruz. If the archetype of a festival culture is falsely construed, the result is confusion and misinterpretation of academic and historical documents. For instance, Zoroastrianism had a great impact on the

[37] Young Yeon Kim (1997), p. 322.
[38] Mehrdad Bahar (1994), pp. 214-215.

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ideology of Taoism; therefore, Taoism cannot be considered independently, or its complete meaning will be lost or stifled. This is also true of the ancient Greek civilization, which is considered the heart of European civilizations. Prevailing scholarship considers Greek civilization entirely apart from that of ancient Persia. This has led to academic distortion of many cultural, religious, and historical elements.

Part of the objective of this paper is to stimulate intellectual curiosity among Korean academics through an appeal to valued symbols, such as the numbers seven and thirteen, the Two Fishes Design, and the Festival of Fire. These facets of Persian culture have permeated various Eastern and Western customs and regions, including Korea. It is my belief that discovering the true historical roots of such customs could resolve a number of academic disputes.

China and India are usually considered the birthplace of Asian civilization. The Persian influence on China and India has largely been forgotten, and Persia is regarded as a "lost civilization." Nonetheless, Persian civilization transmitted countless traditions and symbols to India, Tibet, South Eastern Asia, China, Korea, and Japan. The Persian cultural world in the ancient era consisted of Iran, Central Asia, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the western region (Xinjiang) of China. Considering the vast expanse of Persia's influence as a cultural archetype, surprisingly little research has been accomplished in this area.

Religion, mythology, and festivals are at the heart of ancient studies. This paper has mainly considered Nawruz in terms of cultural aspects. In the future, I would like to further my research on other festivities (Sadeh and Mehregan, etc.) connected with Zoroastrianism.[39]

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ON THE MYTHOLOGICAL BACKGROUND OF THE BYLINA "ILYA MUROMETS AND NIGHTINGALE THE ROBBER"

MAXIM ANATOL'EVICH YUYUKIN

ABSTRACT

The bylina "Ilya Muromets and Nightingale the Robber" is one of the most popular Russian epics. Several interpretations of this bylina and of the image of Nightingale the Robber have been proposed: a reflection of the Indo-European storm myth, an Iranian borrowing, the image of a monstrous guard on the border between the two worlds, a reflection of the principal Balto-Slavic myth of Perun and Veles. Each of these points of view is partially grounded but does not exhaust the complicated nature of this narrative. Its mythological background survived three development stages: from the primitive myth based on the zoomorphic image of death to the later dragon-fighting legend and the mixanthropic picture, naturally corresponding to it, which, in its turn, gained its final shape under the influence of the stadially related Iranian epic. The most archaic variant of the plot is represented in a Belarusian fairy tale, in which Ilya Muromets kills Snake the horned Falcon and the tsar Pražor 'Glutton', who eats 10 humans (supplying by Falcon) a day. This role of Falcon refers to the mythological notion of a bird that brings the souls of the departed to the god of the underworld. The transition from this original image to the mixanthropic Snake the horned Falcon and Nightingale as well as the echo of the dragon-slaying theme belongs to the later epoch of statehood and the class society. Besides, different versions of this legend consequently correspond to almost all the general plot elements and the basic traits of the demonic characters of the epic of Ferēdūn and Ẓaḥḥāk and of some episodes concerning Karšāsp.

Keywords: Slavic folklore, Slavic mythology, bylina, "Ilya Muromets and Nightingale the Robber", image of a bird, mixanthropic image, Iranian epic, borrowing.

1. The bylina "Ilya Muromets and Nightingale the Robber" (also called "The First Journey of Ilya Muromets") is one of the most popular Russian epics, having been recorded 132 times. The monster Solovei 'Nightingale' had partial human (e.g., "the yellow curls" – a constant epithet referring exclusively to anthropomorphic figures; sometimes, it takes a cup by his hands, etc.) and bird-like traits, was able to fly (in some variants), and lived in a nest, had a human family, and received drinks with his hands. He was said to live in a forest (through which nobody is able to go) having his nest upon the oaks (the number of which varies from 1 to 30). His only but mighty weapon is the ability to pipe like a nightingale, to roar like

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an aurochs, and to hiss like a dragon destroying everyone and everything that is around with his powerful whistle. When Nightingale the Robber whistles, allegedly: "all the grasses and meadows become entangled, the azure flowers lose their petals, all the dark woods bend down to the earth, and all the people there lie dead!" In some records, sparks and flame pour from his mouth and nostrils. Legend states that Ilya Muromets survived the whistle, even though Nightingale leveled half of the surrounding forest. Ilya Muromets shot down Nightingale the Robber with an arrow to the eye and temple (or to the right wing), and then dragged the defeated monster before Vladimir, Prince of Kiev. Vladimir wished to hear Nightingale the Robber whistle, but the creature claimed he was too wounded to whistle. Nightingale the Robber requested wine to drink so that his wounds would disappear, then he would whistle for the prince. When he whistled, all of Vladimir's palaces were destroyed and many lay dead. After this. Ilya Muromets took Nightingale the Robber into an open field and cut off his head (see English translations in Hapgood 1916: 52; Bailey & Ivanova: 1998: 25–36).

Several interpretations of this bylina and of the image of Nightingale the Robber have been proposed.

A.N. Afanas'ev ([1865–1869]: I 97-98) regards it as a reflection of the storm myth.

V.F. Miller (1892: 85-117) tends to see it as an Iranian borrowing: he deduces this plot from several Iranian dragon-slaying legends told by Ferdowsī, especially of that of Esfandīār – Simorḡ and Rostem – Esfandīār. In the first case, however, these episodes are united by a mere fact of the victory over the monstrous bird, while both circumstances and the course of the two battles are quite different. Other proximities to Iranian epic adduced by Miller are also very distant or concern widespread details of minor importance. The most noteworthy of them is shooting to the rival's eye (Rostem and Esfandīār). However, other rapprochements Miller makes in these legends are incorrect. Both heroes's arrows are not made of elm, as he states: Ilya cuts out his one of *rakita* (a folk name for some kinds of willow); the name of the tree from which Simorḡ orders Rostem to make his arrow is translated now as tamarisk (*The Sháhnáma* 1910: 239) now as poplar (*topol'*) (*Šāh-nāma* 2004: 287). Before shooting, Ilya pronounces an incantation to the arrow, which is one of the constant elements in the works of this genre, while Esfandīār prays to Yezdan, i.e. does a quite different action.

V.Ya. Propp (1958: 254) underlines the high antiquity of this plot and concludes that genetically Nightingale is connected with the image of a monstrous guard on the border between the two worlds.

This plot is also treated as a reflection of the principal Balto-Slavic myth of the struggle between the gods Perun and Veles (the latter originally appeared in the form of the snake) and the image of Nightingale as a substitution of the earlier Snake (Ivanov & Toporov 1974: 116, 168). Indeed, in many variants of this bylina, we find a snake instead of Nightingale (see Smirnov 2010: 75*ff*); analogically, in one of its Belarusian variants (Brest), we meet a 12-headed dragon instead of Nightingale (Barag 1968: 8) and in the Ukrainian tale "Semilitok (A Seven-years-old

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one)" a snake living in the forest nest upon the twelve oaks (Talanchuk 2002: 147). In a Bulgarian epic song, the dragon behaves like Nightingale the Robber blocking ways up: "Izliala ii zmiia zlatokrila, | Zalazila zemia do krainina, | To ne dava pile da prefrăkne, | A nedželi – trgofche da mine" (Putilov 1971: 70) 'A golden-winged snake came out, | Blocked the earth up to end, | Does not allow a bird to fly past, | Furthermore – merchants to pass through'. Nightingale himself whistles like a snake: "A zasvishchet on da po-zmeinomu" 'And it will start to whistle like a snake' (Gil'ferding 1873: 300), "Sam shipit-to on, sobaka, po-zmeinomu" 'He, dog, hisses like a snake itself" (Markov 1901: 34), "Vykhodili tut boiara kosobrûkhie | A smotret', slushat' revu solov'inogo-zmeinogo" 'Here slanting-bellied boyars came out to see, | To listen to the nightingale's-snake's roar' (Ibidem: 351). However, these examples testify to a mere fact that the image in discussion survived a hybrid bird-snake stage in its development (as we shall see explicitly below) but say nothing about which member of this compound appearance is primary. Besides, it seems to be incorrect to consider all the dragon-fighting plots in Slavic folklore to be reflexes of the principal Balto-Slavic myth, as Ivanov and Toporov do.[1] Just the opposite, this myth is merely one of the representations of the widely extended myth of the victory of the solar hero over the snake that bared the way to the flowing waters; it only can be distinguished from its other representations based on the fact of the presence of its specific plot elements: kidnapping Perun's wife and the theft of his herds by Veles, the flight of Veles pursued by Perun, the three consequent transformations of Veles into various natural objects, the reconciliation of the rivals after Perun's victory. We see none of them in the plot of Ilya and Nightingale.

Among the East Slavic representations of this plot, one seems to be the most important for understanding its origins because of its undoubtedly archaic character.

In a Belarusian epic tale, Ilya Muromets kills the 12-horned Falcon (in some variants it is called Snake the horned Falcon) sitting in its nest upon the twelve oaks and the tsar Pražor 'Glutton', who eats 10 humans (supplying by Falcon)[2] a day, with his mace (*Belaruski epas* 1959: 53-54; *Belaruski fal'klor* 1977: 480).

Many facts witness in favour of the hypothesis that this narrative represents a more ancient variant of the plot than the bylina of Nightingale.

2. The origin of these legends is very complicated; one can distinguish several genetic layers in them. The most archaic one is identified by the indication (completely lost in the bylinas) that Falcon carried people to the ogre Pražor. It refers to the mythological notion of a bird that brings the souls of the departed to the god of the underworld. V.Ya. Propp (1986: 208*ff*) states that it is a bird that is a characteristic animal delivering the dead to the underworld, as numerous examples

[1] Cf.: "a common origin of the combat myths is not obvious" (Fontenrose 1980: 7).

[2] The subordinate position of a servant Falcon takes towards Pražor (in some variants of the bylina, Nightingale is a son of the pagan Mamaiššo (see Smirnov 2010: 75) corresponding to Pražor) also does not allow identifying Falcon/Nightingale with the important god Veles.

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witness (on Tahiti and Tonga, e.g., the notion of birds carrying away the souls of the dead existed until the end of the 19th c.). Thus, Falcon belongs, by origin, to the same circle of images as the bird Yustritsa and an eagle on a tree as incarnations of death in the Russian puzzles (see Afanas'ev [1865–1869]: I 169); the monstrous bird (usually the eagle) of Slavic tales that carries a hero sewn up to a dead horse's body (or its skin) or on its own back to distant lands (see Ibidem: I 161); the "geese-swans" of a Russian fairy tale kidnapping a little boy and carrying him to Baba-Yaga (the mistress of the world of the dead), etc. These birds are never attacked, much less are captured, injured, or killed, and their characteristics as fiends is not distinct. The notion of dying as being devoured by an afterlife divinity is expressed in the puzzle of Yustritsa: "Ona khvalitsia-vykhvaliaetsia, | Chto vse vidala, | Vsego mnogo edala – | I tsaria v Moskve, | Korolia v Litve, | Startsa v kel'e, | Ditia v kolybeli" 'It boasts of-brags about | Seeing everything, | Eating everyone – | Both a tsar in Moscow | And a king in Lithuania, | An elder in his cell, | A baby in its cradle.' The bird carrying the hero needs the permanent feeding on meat during this flight, so towards its end, the hero has to give to it the pieces of his own flesh.

The closest typological parallel appears to be found in Mongolian mythology: according to the *Secret History of the Mongols*, the direct ancestor of Genghis Khan Bodončar, after being excluded from his clan, caught a falcon and nourished himself by wild geese and ducks that his falcon had caught, and what is especially remarkable, the falcon's hunt is associated with wind and snow storm (cf. Falcon's/Nightingale's whistle), which serves as clear evidence of the mythological origin of this legend: "If there be a wind from the northwest, the feathers and down of the ducks and geese that he hath made to be caught by the falcon scatter and blow hither like a whirlwind of snow", I.25-31 (Cleaves 1982: 5-7); cf.: "In Hinduism, a wild goose symbolizes the wandering soul" (Falco Howard 1986: 155).

The notion of a bird of prey as a nourisher (without the connection with the world of death) can be found elsewhere. The most famous fairy bird in Iranian mythology Simorḡ (Persian), Sēnmurv (Pahlavi) deriving from Avestan *mərəγō saēnə* 'the bird Saēna', originally a raptor, either eagle or falcon, as can be deduced from the etymologically identical Sanskrit *śyená-* 'eagle' and 'falcon' (see Schmidt), nourishes, according to various legends, several future Iranian heroes.

As hinted at above, the foregoing conception gives to Falcon's/Nightingale's whistle a more specific sense than to be a mere reflection of the storm myth. The association between wind and death is explicitly expressed in the figure of the Iranian wind god Vāyu, who is similar to Falcon/Nightingale/Snake both by his position between the two worlds and his connection with death: as a feared god of death, he appears in the Avesta, in spite of his basic depiction of a martial deity capable of protecting the creation of Spənta Mainyu; the *Aogəmadaēcā* names the road leading to the afterworld "the way of the pitiless Vāyu" (see Duchesne-Guillemin 1962: 179; Malandra), cf. the road through the forest controlled by Falcon/Nightingale. This is a specific Iranian conception since already the Vedic counterpart of Vāyu does not reveal any relation to the world of death.

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3. The transition from the original image of the underworld bird to the mixanthropic Snake the horned Falcon and Nightingale as well as the more or less obscured dragon-fighting theme belongs to a later epoch since both the image of a dragon as a hybrid creature integrating traits of various animals/birds and the motif of dragon slaying appear together with statehood and the class society approximately simultaneously with anthropomorphic gods (Propp 1986: 224, 245, 246). Besides numerous Slavic parallels, (Snake) the horned Falcon has counterparts in various cultures, which allows considering it as universal for mythopoetic consciousness on a certain development stage, cf. a falcon wearing ram's horns within a sun disc in Egyptian iconography (Teissier 1995: 92); the dragon Shen-Yi in Chinese folklore that is described as having the body of a stag, head of a horned bird, tail of a snake, and the wings of a dragon (Bane 2016: 289); the ambivalence world of horned birds and animal-birds of Villanovan times (Piggot 2018: 263), etc.; "horns... can indicate both power and fertility" (Aston 2011: 135). The Egyptian dog or jackal god Anubis could also become a snake or a falcon (Neil 2000: 46). The tripartite structure of this nomination is analogous to Serbian *Zmaj Ogneni Vuk* 'Snake the Fire Wolf', a name of the epic hero.

It is evident that the image of Nightingale, semantically equivalent to that of Falcon (both falcon and nightingale figure as symbols of masculinity and matrimony in traditional culture, see (Tolstoy 2012: 98, 106) but less archetypical, is secondary and replaced Falcon exclusively because of his main feature – the ability of the (devastating) whistle (already attributed to Falcon) that is more characteristic for nightingales than for falcons. The later character of Nightingale in comparison with Falcon is also seen from the fact that Falcon lacks human traits (as known, the capacity for speech is easily attributed to animals and even subjects in fairy tales) that are distinct in the image of Nightingale (see above).

In the Belarusian tale, unlike the prevailing variant of the bylina, Ilya faces two rivals – Falcon and its lord the tsar Pražor; the latter corresponds to the character of another bylina – "Ilya Muromets and Idolišče". Idolišče is a grotesque anthropomorphic figure (he "is three fathoms, well measured, in height, and three in breadth; his head is like a beer-kettle, his eyes like drinking cups. His nose is an ell long from its root, and he cheweth the cud like an aurochs" (Hapgood 1936: 136), an invader, who comes to Jerusalem (Constantin polis, Kiev) and defiles God's temples; he is especially characterized by voracity. Invited to the Idolišče's table, where he boasts of this quality, Ilya inspires the monster's rage comparing him with his father's cow that burst because of eating too much. After Idolišče throws his knife at Ilya, the latter kills him with his hat, which weighs 12 poods (in the Belarusian tale, Ilya murders Pražor in the same way without any provocation from his side). The obviously organic character of the connection between both episodes of Falcon and of Pražor in the Belarusian text (they are connected by certain social relations, Pražor wonders why Falcon let Ilya pass and asks where is his Falcon) allows considering the two bylinas to be split fragments of an originally united text more completely represented in the Belarusian tale.

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According to Propp (1958: 228-229), Idolišče is a development stage of the earlier bylina image of Snake Tugarin. In Russian fairy tales, Idolišče is one of the names for Snake (Novikov 1974: 189). In this regard, it is not surprising to discover that a number of common details connects the plot in discussion with the Russian fairy tales of the battle on the bridge (Aarne–Thompson 300A) (Aarne & Thompson 1961: 90). Like Falcon/Nightingale, the snake also has its dwelling on the river Smorodina (that is the border of the two worlds) and guards the bridge, across which nobody could move (Propp 1986: 219) (like through Nightingale's forest). Here we meet the East Slavic image of a chief of fiends (also known as Gogol's Viy), the father of the murdered dragons,[3] whose eyes are covered with brows and eyelashes so heavy that they can only be lifted by pitchforks; this feature is inherent in Pražor as well. These correspondences make it clear that the comparing groups of legends represent two variants of the same dragon-slaying plot.

4. These two diachronic mythological motifs do not exhaust the context of this narrative. In our mind, there are convincing evidences of that the whole its plot was strongly influenced by Iranian epic legends. More concrete, it consequently corresponds to the main plot-constructing elements of the story of the struggle of Ferēdūn (Pahlavi Frēdōn, Avestan Θraētaona) against the dragon king Ẓaḥḥāk, told in the *Shāh-nāma*, which dates back to the Avestan myth of Θraētaona's victory over the three-headed, six-eyed dragon Dahāka (*Yašt* 5.33-35, 15.23-24; *Yasna* 9.7-8; *Vidēvdād* 1.18), and some episodes concerning the hero Karšāsp (Avestan Kərəsāspa) and known from other Zoroastrian sources. Some of these coincidences are common both for the Belarusian tales and the bylinas, and some of them occur in the bylinas only; this determines the relative chronology of these borrowings.

a) Ẓaḥḥāk has two snakes springing from his shoulders, which are fed on human flesh (*Šāh-nāma* 1957: 1163-1182); the tsar Pražor eats people as well, while Idolišče already lost this archaic property. However, all the three are notable for voracity as their most characteristic feature (accented already by the name of Pražor). "I can put a loaf in one cheek, and the same in the other, and a white swan is but a mouthful for me. I eat seven poods of bread and three oxen at a meal <etc.>" – Idolišče brags to Ilya (Hapgood 1916: 138-139). Ahriman's power over Ẓaḥḥāk is based on the latter's desire for meat food to which this evil spirit accustomed the king (*Šāh-nāma* 1957: 1101-1186). The storm myth basis of both Iranian and Slavic images (as well as that of the image of a bird, as said above) is traced with a significant degree of reliability. Ẓaḥḥāk comes "like wind" (see Carnoy 1917: 315); this characteristics is confirmed by the later Bashkir legend of the dragon *aždacha* appeared from the lake in whirlwind and fire, howling, whistling, and hissing (Moszyński 1934: 481-482). The name of *Viy* (mentioned above as corresponding to Pražor), according to the most convincing etymology,

[3] In one contaminated variant, Nightingale is the son of the pagan Mamaiššo corresponding to Pražor and Idolišče (see Smirnov 2010: 46).

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comes from Common Slavic **viti*, 1.sg. **vĭjǫ* 'to twist', which reveals the original association of this fiend with whirlwind; the snake of the Russian fairy tales often appears as whirlwind.

b) Both heroes have to get over natural obstacles on the way to their rivals: Ferēdūn forces a river (*Šāh-nāma* 1957: 1905-1918); Ilya builds bridges and roads through forests and swamps (Propp 1958: 254-255).

c) The head of the Arabic guard refuses to give to Ferēdūn boats to take his army across the river referring to his king's order (*Šāh-nāma* 1957: 1891-1904); in a bylina from Archangelsk, Nightingale also orders his daughter to refuse to Ilya in a boat (Gil'ferding 1873: 112).

d) Expeditions of both heroes against their monstrous rivals include two meetings. Before the battle with Ẓaḥḥāk, Ferēdūn firstly meets Kandarv, the major-domo of Ẓaḥḥāk, who learns his plans and then makes a report to his lord (*Šāh-nāma* 1957: 2043-2142). The identity of Kandrav's and Falcon's social functions as the king's servants is evident. However, their similarity is much deeper. In Ferdowsī, Kandrav does not display any non-anthropomorphic traits. Nevertheless, his name refers to the identical *Gaṇdarəβa-* (variants *gaṇdərəβa-* or *gaṇdaraβa-*; Middle Persian *Gandarw/Gandarb*), a term attested in the Avesta as the name of a monster living in the lake Vourukaša and killed by Kərəsāspa (Middle Persian Kirsāsp; New Persian Karšāsp) after a furious fight (*Yašt* 5.38). Moreover, the evident comparison with Vedic *gandharvá-* (also *gandharvī-*, later *gandharba-*) (see Panaino) allows groping for more archaic ties of *Gaṇdarəβa-* with Falcon/Nightingale: the Gandharvas are imagined now as anthropomorphic creatures now as animals or birds, cf. especially the Ṛgvedic hymn where Soma is compared with a falcon and is called Gandharva at the same time: *śyenáḥ | ná | vā́msu | kaláśeṣu | sīdasi || apā́m | gandharvám | divyám* | 'Like a falcon in the woods, you sit in the tubs, | the heavenly Gandharva of the waters', 9.86.35-36 (Jamison & Brereton 2014: 3 1324). Besides, the hypothesis treating the Gandharvas as wind gods and deducing their name from Old Indic *gandhas-/gandhar-* 'scent' (wind as a scent carrier) (see EWA 1986-2001: I 462) (in the Ṛgveda, the Gandharvas are called *vāyú-keśā-* 'wind-haired', 3.38.6) gives to us another point of coincidence of this Indo-Iranian image and Falcon/Nightingale in the context of its whistle (see above). The close connection of the Gandharvas with the underworld is postulated in *Ṛgveda* 10.10.4 on behalf of Yama, the lord of the dead: "The Gandharva in the waters and the watery maiden – that is our umbilical tie; therefore our kinship is of the highest" (Jamison & Brereton 2014: 3 1382). The clear reflection of the variant of this plot, in which the first rival, as in the Slavic legend, yet appears as a bird, is represented in the Chechen variant of the Nart epic: in order to make Goržay raise the alarm, one of the clan Orxustoy, named Oruzbi, shoots Goržay's favorite bird, perched on his tower, and then the principal Orxustoy hero Soskan Solsa captures Goržay and binds him to a horse (as well as Ilya do with Nightingale!) facing its tail to make a mockery of the defeated rival (Dumézil 1986: I 482).

e) Both Falcon and Idolišče foresee the appearance of Ilya and expect him with fear (*Belaruski epas* 1959: 53; Propp 1958: 229); analogically, Ẓaḥḥāk does

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towards Ferēdūn after he saw him in dream and archimages predicted Ẓaḥḥāk his future defeat from him (*Šāh-nāma* 1957: 1329-1468).

f) In the offensive comparison of Idolišče with the burst cow, made by Ilya, one may hear the hollow echo of the story of the cow Barmāya, which nursed Ferēdūn and was killed by order of Ẓaḥḥāk (*Šāh-nāma* 1957: 1481-1553). Ferēdūn considers his attack against Ẓaḥḥāk as vengeance for this crime.

g) Ẓaḥḥāk's residence is situated on a high place, rises "up to the sky and stars", and has the form of a bird (*Šāh-nāma* 1957: 1927-32); Falcon's/Nightingale's nest is on the oaks, and Nightingale's yard in the bylina is "on the seven versts and on the seven poles" (Putilov 1971: 65).

h) Idolišče throws his knife at Ilya in anger over his mockery; Ẓaḥḥāk, in a jealous rage towards Jamšid's sisters, flashes his dagger intending to kill them (*Šāh-nāma* 1957: 2181-2200).

i) Nightingale (but not Falcon) is called "the Robber", although the bylina does not adduce any his deed that could justify this nickname. According to *Dādestān īdēnīg* 71, Aži Srūwar 'Horned Snake', killed by Karšāsp, was also a highway robber (*rāhdārī ud rāhbīmēnīdārīh... kard*); cf. the dragon guarding a road which is described in *Aogəmadaēcā* 78, where it is compared with Vāyu (cf. our observations on the parallels between Falcon/Nightingale and Vāyu made above): "the road which a dragon guards, horse-crushing (*aspaŋhāδō*), man-crushing (*vīraŋhāδō*), man-slaying (*vīraja*), without compassion", and note *Pahlavi Rivayat* 69.16, where Kirsāsp tells Ohrmazd that he has killed seven gigantic *rāhdārs*) (see Skjærvø *et al.*). Thus, here we find the whole complex of motifs (the characteristics of monstrous fiends as robbers, the dragon guarding a road, its connection with wind) that are represented in the image of Falcon (partially)/Nightingale as well.

j) The part of the East Slavic legend that is distinguished by the highest degree of inconstancy is that concerning the way in which Ilya defeats Falcon/Nightingale and the further fate of the latter. A. Skaftymov (1958: 23-24) notices that this proves that the murder of Nightingale is not an organic part of the plot. As said above, in the Belarusian narrative, Ilya kills both Nightingale and Pražor on the spot. This variant, from which emanates a primordial simplicity, surely should be considered to be the oldest one: the battle with the dragon almost always ends in its death. In the bylina, however, Ilya usually shoots down Nightingale with an arrow to the eye and temple. The closest parallel to this episode is the story of the bird Kamak in *Ṣad dar-e Bondahesh* 20.37-43. Kamak spread its wings over the whole world, overshadowed the earth, all the rain which poured down fell on its wings and the whole was again poured by it into the sea through its breath provoked drought on the earth; Kamak devoured men and animals as a bird pecked grain. Karshāsp showered arrows on it day and night like rain until pierced both its wings and made it fall down, and besides, many men fell down beneath and were killed, after which Karshāsp bruised all its beak with his mace (Dhabhar 1932: 518). This myth has too many common features with the episode of Ilya's fight against Nightingale (including the central one of the latter, which is, at the same time, the most unique of all, – the malicious effect of the bird's breath) for their similarity to turn out to be random happenstance.

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k) Ilya of the bylina does not kill Nightingale immediately; he drives him, bound to his stirrup, to Vladimir, Prince of Kiev, where decapitates him after Nightingale disturbs Vladimir and his court by his anxious whistle (Hapgood 1916: 53; Propp 1958: 252). Analogically, Surōsh (Avestan Sraosha) orders Ferēdūn not to kill Ẓaḥḥāk but to convey him ("bound shamefully and flung in wretched plight upon a camel's back") to Mount Damāvand, where he fettered him in a narrow gorge and studded him with heavy nails, leaving him to hang, bound by his hands, to a crag, so that his anguish might endure (*Šāh-nāma* 1957: 2205-2290). This episode was borrowed after the split of this plot into two bylinas: Nightingale, who has remained the only hero's rival, gained the lot of the second Iranian fiend (cf.: "Deeds and traits may be transferred from one character to another" (Fontenrose 1980: 8); the bylina of Idolišče preserved its archaic look.

l) The final of the bylina recorded on very old East Slavic territories (Smolensk and Kiev) preserves features of an etiological myth: pieces to which Ilya cuts Nightingale' body turn into nightingales (Dobrovol'sky 1891: 40; Smirnov 2010: 69). The *Dēnkard* (9.21.8-10) relates how Frēdōn first struck Dahāg with his club upon the shoulder, the heart, and the skull, without killing him, and that he then hewed him with a sword three times, which caused the body of Dahāg to turn into various noxious creatures.

5. In this paper, we have left without attention the part of the tale/bylina telling about the life of Ilya before he hit the road (his illness and cure, land and river clearing (a kind of repetition of clearing the road through Nightingale's forest), gaining a horse and arms) as well as his meeting with Nightingale's family. The first one reproduces traditional fairy tale motifs (the original miserable position of a character contrasting with his future majesty, recovering by means of the "water of life", a miracle horse and super powerful weapons provided to a character by certain tutelary forces) and deeds of a cultural hero (cf. the similar activity of the Estonian hero Kalevipoeg). The bylina image of Nightingale's big incestuous family (absent in the Belarusian tale) may be considered as another indication to the Iranian influence on this plot since the encouragement of consanguine marriage (Avestan *x'aētuuadaθa*, Persian *khwēdōdah*) as the lord's work is characteristic for Zoroastrianism (e.g., the goddess Spənta Ārmaiti is seen as the wife or companion of major deity Ahura Mazda, who, in some accounts, is described as her creator or father (Skjærvø 2007). The unique variant where Nightingale's sons turn into ravens with iron beaks (Propp 1958: 254) appears, because of its isolated character, to be secondary, loaned from the fairy tales.

6. Thus, the mythological background of the East Slavic narrative of Ilya' fight against the monstrous hybrid bird-like creature survived three development stages: from the primitive myth based on the zoomorphic image of death to the later dragon-fighting legend and the mixanthropic picture, naturally corresponding to it, which, in its turn, gained its final shape under the influence of the stadially related Iranian epic.

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The last conclusion is confirmed by the fact that, as follows from the present research, the East Slavic tale/bylina in discussion reveals a systematic proximity to the Iranian mythological epic of Ferēdūn and Ẓaḥḥāk matching it in almost all the general plot elements and the basic traits of the demonic characters. The most noticeable Russian innovations (which the most archaic Belarusian version lacks) include the 'recasting' of Falcon as Nightingale, his characteristics as a robber, the course of the battle and the further lot of Nightingale, three of which finding parallels in the myths of Karšāsp (the last one, however, much more meets the story of Ẓaḥḥāk). It is clear that they form the latest layer of the plot. It is noteworthy that despite what Miller and other scholars believed, the East Slavic legend reflects not the epics of Rostem and Esfandīār (or, at least, their traces are faint and isolated here) which have no Avestan predecessors but that of Ferēdūn and Karshāsp originating from the myths of the Avesta and Zoroastrian treatises. Thus, the bylina under discussion provides another example of the complex interlacing of original Slavic and borrowed Iranian mythological motifs analogous to what we have seen earlier in the bylina "Dobrynya and Nastas'ya" (see Yuyukin 2000).

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"IF THE SUN SHINES ON HIM ONCE MORE, HE WILL LIVE TWO LIVES": EXHUMING THE DEAD IN EASTERN SERBIA

ANNEMARIE SORESCU-MARINKOVIĆ, ALEKSANDAR REPEDŽIĆ

ABSTRACT

Until the final decades of the 20th century, the Vlachs of Eastern Serbia practiced a rather unusual funerary custom about which very little was known: exhuming people who died very young 40 days after the funeral, so that the inconsolable family could see them once more. Apart from bringing peace and consolation to the family, it seems that the belief behind this custom was that if the corpse is taken out of the grave once more, so that the sun shines on it, the deceased would have two lives. The rare ethnographic references from the beginning of the previous century indicate a wider spread of the phenomenon in Eastern Serbia, among the Vlachs, but at the end of the 20th century, when the last exhumations were done, only a few villages in the Homolje region celebrated the custom. This paper draws on the few Serbian ethnographic sources from the first half of the last century and on the limited later mentions, and presents the narratives recorded by the authors in 2022 with Vlach interlocutors who had heard about the ritual, conducted it, or took part in it between 1970 and the 1990s. Special attention is paid to the area in which this phenomenon took place, situations in which the exhumation was done, and the beliefs underlying it.

Keywords: funerary customs, traditional culture, burial, exhumation, Balkans.

INTRODUCTION

The discussion about death and dying is as old as humanity. Few subjects stir the imagination and generate more interest than the study of how people across cultures deal with death and dying. Regardless of whether cultures are startlingly open in their dealing with death or taboo everything connected to death, the beliefs and the rituals connected to it not only reflect social values, but are also an important force shaping them (Geertz 1973: 98).

The study of humanity and humans has their mortality at its core. One of the objects of reflection and philosophical speculation, from Aristotle to Sigmund Freud, has been the corpse itself. In different cultures, the corpse is ritually honored and memorialized or brutally disposed of. Different beliefs stemming from various cultures result in different treatment of the corpse, including burial, cremation, submersion, embalming, exposure, abandonment, and exhumation. This diversity of cultural reactions is a measure of the universal impact of death; these reactions

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are always meaningful and expressive and anything but random (Huntington and Metcalf 1979: 1).

Even though the norm of many cultures around the globe is that the dead should not be bothered, as cemeteries exist as resting places, corpses are sometimes disturbed through exhumation for a variety of reasons. Today, in the modern world, the removal of the corpse from the earth, a ritual practice in some traditional societies, is performed under various circumstances and for various reasons. For example, forensic exhumation has two aims: to provide legal evidence of human rights abuses that can be used in judicial processes and to bring closure to families of the missing by allowing the proper burial of the dead. Alternately, exhumation can be practiced for practical reasons. An example of this is when old bones are disinterred so that new bodies can be placed in already full cemeteries. In addition, archaeological investigations often involve exhumation.

In this paper, however, we focus on a particular exhumation practice from Eastern Europe which does not fall into any of the aforementioned categories, and about which very little was known: namely, the exhumation of the body 40 days after the funeral. The ritual was practiced until the last decades of the 20th century in several villages inhabited by Vlachs in Eastern Serbia, and the last documented exhumations of this type took place in 1992. However, due to its relatively taboo character, it is believed to be underreported. This article mainly draws on narratives recorded by the authors during 2022 in a few Vlach villages in Eastern Serbia, with interlocutors who conducted, took part in, or were told about the performance of the ritual between 1970 and the 1990s. We pay special attention to the area in which this phenomenon took place, situations in which the exhumation was done, and the beliefs underlying the ritual.

The Vlachs of Eastern Serbia are a Romanian-speaking population which settled in Eastern Serbia in a specific set of historical circumstances, mainly during the 18th and 19th centuries, coming from the territories north of the Danube which form present-day Romania (Sorescu-Marinković and Huțanu 2023: 24-42). As the Vlachs are known in Serbia for their so-called Vlach magic, complex cult of the dead, and what seems to be exotic rituals, it is not our intention to add to the sensationalistic corpus of texts. Our article reveals the existence, up to the end of the last century, of a ritual unknown in Romania or other neighboring regions in the Balkans: exhuming the corpse after only 40 days from the funeral or death. On the basis of the very scarce written testimonies and of the recent recordings from the field, we explain the reasons behind this practice and, at the same time, try to restore a segment of traditional culture which has been almost unknown to date.

EXHUMATION IN EASTERN EUROPE

The area under scrutiny, Eastern Serbia, is heavily influenced by Eastern Orthodoxy, as is the majority of Eastern Europe. In this region, burial is the standard method of handling the deceased. This practice is based primarily on the Orthodox religious belief that the body is a 'temple of the spirit' and must be buried in its entirety in order to make resurrection possible. Even though, as a rule, the bodies should not be disturbed from their 'eternal sleep,' ritual exhumation has

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probably nowhere in the civilized world had a longer history and bodies have never been more troubled than in Eastern Europe.

The church's postulate about the radical separation of the soul from the body at the moment of death has entered the collective imagination extremely slowly, often undergoing additions and changes. This nevertheless comes as no surprise, because in the teachings of the Orthodox Church and Roman Catholic Church, as well as in popular practice and religiosity, sacred relics preserve the miracle-generating presence of the saints in this world (Cosma 2014: 103). This is the context in which we shall understand the fact that rest is not eternal in this area, where exhumation has been a very widespread phenomenon. Even though it is theoretically opposed by the church, paradoxically, in some cases, it has received tacit or open approval (Marian 1892, Hedeşan 1998, Tolstoy 2009, Cosma 2014).

There is no denial, however, that the most fascinating exhumations in this part of Europe, which have stirred the imagination of many writers and attracted tremendous popular attention and great scientific interest, are those of presumed vampires (Barber 1987, Dundes 1998, Lecouteux 2010). As Larry Wolff believes, part of the process of inventing Eastern Europe philosophically and geographically was to set literary works and academic studies in remote areas in Europe (*apud* Cosma 2014: 99). However, there is also an abundance of archival research, church, and ethnologic reports from the area, dating up to the 20th century, which report numerous cases of exhumation and mutilation of corpses as phenomena specific to a peasant society with a pre-modern vision of the world.

In many folk beliefs, vampires are considered to be corpses which do not rot for various reasons (most often connected to a taboo, prescribed ritual, or failure of a rite of passage), and who haunt, disfigure, torture or kill animals, members of the family, or of the village community (Hedeşan 1998). In 1746, a Benedictine monk mentioned a real "epidemics of fear of vampires" in the 17th and 18th centuries in Hungary, Silesia, Bohemia, Moravia, Poland, and Greece. In order to protect themselves, people would disinter and either burn the suspected corpses, or pierce the body with a stake (Cosma 2014: 119). Individuals with a belief in vampires and their exhumation and mutilation of corpses were widely encountered in Transylvania in the 18th and 19th centuries, as the folkloric material collected and published starting with the second half of the 19th century and archival documents attest (*idem*: 104–114).

Concentrating on the vampire and revenant legends of Eastern Europe, Paul Barber carefully analyses the few documented cases spanning centuries. Utilizing modern forensic pathology, he argues that the lore of vampires/revenants is an elaborate folk hypothesis to explain the natural phenomena of decomposition. Moreover, he remarks that vampire stories occur only in areas where the dead are buried, not cremated, and they tend to correlate with cultures with the practice of exhumation, as was the case in in Greece, Bulgaria, and Serbo-Croatia (Barber 1987).

Contrary to common belief, as well as several laws passed by the imperial/state administration and recommendations from the church to put an end to such practices, there were many cases in which the priest was the one who initiated the exhumation of the corpse considered to be a vampire, from Wallachia

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and Transylvania to Ukraine and Russia (Cosma 2014: 109-111). The exhumation of corpses suspected to be vampires extended well into the 20th century (see Djordjević 1953 for information about the South Slavic area), as the pressure coming from the secular and ecclesiastic authorities to eradicate these practices was only formal for a long time and was met by the strong resistance of a peasant society dominated by ancestral fears. Practices of protection used for generations and supported by the priests could not be suddenly abandoned by the contact with radical doctrines, propagated from the top down (Cosma 2014: 112).

As far as the Vlachs of Eastern Serbia are concerned, their vernacular religion has existed and flourished, untroubled by the Serbian ecclesiastic authorities for centuries (Sorescu-Marinković 2022: 315-318). Reports record complaints from Serbian priests in the 18th century who could not convince the Romanian-speaking Vlachs to go to church (Vitković 1884). There were only a few Romanian priests who came with the Vlachs from north of the Danube and after 1873, not a single one of them was left in Eastern Serbia (Djordjević 1924: 110). Even though the Vlachs of Eastern Serbia are Christian, the church has only superficially influenced their representation about after-life and the other world, "since the Church does not speak Vlach and the Vlachs do not speak Church Slavic language" (Durlić 2011: 45). Considering the fact that the Vlachs have been a geographically isolated, mostly rural, community which has had only irregular contact with the mass of Romanians north of the Danube for the last two centuries, as well as the fact that that their complex of rituals and folk beliefs, most of which are concentrated on the cult of the dead, are regulating the existence of the community, it is less surprising that the exhumation ritual which we will talk about further was practiced until the last decades of the 20th century and was mostly unknown to the surrounding Serbian population.

"SO THAT THE SUN WARMS HIM ONCE MORE": PREVIOUS ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH ON EXHUMATION IN EASTERN SERBIA

The Serbian ethnologist Tihomir Djordjević is the author of a seminal work about the Vlachs of Eastern Serbia, *Among Our Romanians: Travel Notes*. He documented his June 20–July 3, 1905 travel among the Ungureni Vlachs in Eastern Serbia in great detail, in one of the first field diaries in the history of Serbian ethnography. This work was published a year later, in 1906. Djordjević attested to the massive presence of the Romanian-speaking Vlachs in the region, basing his study on census data and personal observations, and approximated their arrival in the region to be in the 18th and 19th centuries from areas north of the Danube. Although he did not hesitate to include a great deal of ethnic stereotypes in his book, among which were that the Vlachs were savage, uncivilized, dirty, lazy, immoral, and unreligious, the work is nevertheless an important one. Apart from the fact that it offers one of the first documented mentions of the community, folk collections and ethnographic descriptions of the rituals practiced by the Vlachs, it contains the first reference to a "very interesting phenomenon": digging out the corpse 40 days after the funeral so that the family can see the deceased once more. The Serbian ethnographer does not fail to say, nevertheless, that the priests forbade the custom, but the Vlachs do it secretly, during the night (Djordjević 1906: 284).

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Djordjević goes on to say that in the village of Valakonje, people do not know about disinterring of the dead and the subsequent reburial, or at least they do not dare to openly talk about it. Still, the Serbian teacher he discussed with told him that about 15 years ago, a dejected mother in the village disinterred her child two months after the funeral to see it once more. In a footnote to this passage, the Serbian ethnologist tries to explain that this is probably a remnant of the double burial of the dead, a custom "which is even today performed by some uncivilized peoples": initially the dead are buried, but after a few years, their bones are taken out of the earth, cleaned, and reburied in a different place.

In the same footnote, he offers the description of a double burial reported about in the Serbian newspaper *Štampa* in 1905, issue 258. It allegedly happened in Mladenovac, which was then a village 50 km away from the capital of Belgrade and today is considered a town:

> In the village of Mladenovac, when somebody dies of tuberculosis in a house, they leave a small, round, inconspicuous opening with a cap in the lid of the coffin. When the coffin with the dead body is taken to the cemetery, before it is lowered in the grave, somebody from the family members slips a small bottle with red wine through the opening. After 40 days, the family members open the grave and, through the opening on the coffin lid, take out the bottle with wine, then give a bit to every child in the family, believing that this would protect them from the dead person's disease. If there is no wine, an old corncob is cut and the same procedure is followed as with the wine, meaning every child eats a few kernels for protection. Even if this report was later refuted in issue 264 of *Štampa*, I know that this custom really exists in Mladenovac (*idem*: 285, translation ours).

One could easily guess why the report Djordjević talks about was later withdrawn, and why there are not any ethnographic descriptions of such a custom. Nevertheless, Djordjević seems to have been keen on finding out more and collecting more reports about the practice of exhumation. Twenty years later, in 1926, he published a short article in the *Gazette of the Serbian Scientific Society*, entitled *The Double Burial*, where he expands upon what he had written in his 1906 work on the Vlachs of Eastern Serbia, adding a few details and places in Serbia where the practice was encountered (Djordjević 1926: 530). From this later edit, it looks like the custom in the Vlach villages is nevertheless different from the ones mentioned in other regions, in that here, the reason for exhumation is not a practical reason or protection, but the great sorrow caused by the loss of a family member:

> In many Romanian villages of Eastern Serbia there is the custom that, after one or two months, somewhere after 40 days or half a year after the death, the dead is unearthed so the family sees them once more, cries over them, kisses them and pours wine over them, and is buried again. The reason invoked is the too great sorrow for the dead, which supposedly is soothed (Djordjević 1926: 530, translation ours).

Djordjević ends his short ethnographic description by saying that similar customs probably exist elsewhere in Serbia, and they need to be described in detail and the reasons behind them thoroughly researched. Finally, he asks the readers to send these kinds of descriptions to the editors of the *Gazette of the Serbian*

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Scientific Society. His request has stayed unanswered, at least as far as the Vlachs of Eastern Serbia are concerned.

A brief reference to this custom made a year earlier, in 1925, in an article about the customs and beliefs of the Krajina region in Eastern Serbia, inhabited predominantly by Vlachs, must also be mentioned. At the end of this short article, the author describes the custom Tihomir Djordjević paid close attention to, this time in the village of Jabukovac:

> In the village of Jabukovac, until a few years ago, there was such a custom. Forty days or half a year after the funeral, they go to the grave and open it up, kiss the deceased, cry and sob over them, wash their face with wine, then bury them again. They make this to satisfy the longing and desire to see the deceased. I do not know more about this. I heard it from many people, and also from the local priest. In the summer, the village gives off an unbearable smell from this custom of theirs (Stevanović 1925: 400, translation ours).

It took almost a century until another account of the ritual in Eastern Serbia was published by Aleksandar Repedžić, one of the authors of this paper, on his blog in 2020. During Repedžić's field research, he met and talked to a Vlach woman who performed the ritual for her son, in the village of Debeli Lug in 1992. Repedžić writes:

> Milica is one of the few women who exhumed her son so the sun could shine on him two times. Milica, who was born in the village of Laznica, heard from her parents that they used to disinter the dead, so she did the same for her son. Researching this custom, I found out that it was practiced in the village of Laznica during the 19th century, while in the village of Gornjane it was done until the 1970s. Milica's son died in his early 20s; he had a fiancée and was in the army when he was urgently transferred to the Belgrade Clinical Center and died soon after, from rapidly progressive leukemia. When he died, Milica tied a red thread outside the Clinical Center and unfurled it all the way to the village, as the Vlachs believe that the soul comes home following the red thread and this is the only way they can find their way home. As he died without a candle, the Heaven's candle[1] was also made, because the other world is imagined as cold, without water, and everything which is given to him in this world will be waiting for him in the other world as well. Because of the great sorrow for her lost son, during the *pomana*[2] ritual done 40 days after the funeral, Milica disinterred her son early in the morning, so the sun could warm him once again, as it is believed that like this he would go straight to heaven (Repedžić 2020, translation ours).

In this text and the following one, published a year later in *National Geographic Serbia*, Repedžić makes several general remarks about the ritual. He writes that the custom of disinterring the dead (Srb. *otkopavanje pokojnika*) was practiced until the end of the 19th and even in the 20th century in parts of the Homolje and Podunavlje regions of Eastern Serbia, which is inhabited by the Vlachs. The custom was usually done when a young person died. Forty days after

[1] The Heaven's candle is a richly decorated candlestick with intertwined bee wax flowers, mirrors and candles on top, made by hand by Vlach women during the night after somebody died without a lit candle. The Heaven's candle is supposed to light the way to Heaven for the deceased.

[2] *Pomana* is a traditional folk ritual by which the Vlachs send food and drink to the other world for the deceased.

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the burial, the family of the deceased would come to the cemetery, open the grave and take the coffin out when the sun was rising. They would straighten up the coffin, take the lid off, wipe the face of the dead with a white scarf, then turn their face to the sun so the rays of the sun would touch them. After that, they would close the coffin again and put it back into the grave, and all funeral customs would be done as if the deceased had been buried for the first time that day. The custom was performed within the close family circle, which is why so little is known about it (Repedžić 2021).

Ethnologist Paun Es Durlić sees the ritual of disinterring the dead after 40 days, which he has also encountered in his field research from the last decade of the 20th century, as the best proof that the cult of the dead among the Vlachs of Eastern Serbia is founded on the postulates of *animatism*, and not *animism* (Durlić 1995: 233–237). Animatism, a term coined by British anthropologist Robert Marett in the early 20th century within the context of his teleological theory of the evolution of religion, refers to a belief that everything is infused with a life force giving each lifeless object personality or perception, but not a soul, as is the case in animism. Animatism, as Durlić sees it, is the belief that death does not separate the soul from the body, or that the separation is only temporary and irrelevant, as the afterlife is just an extension of the mundane. Consequently, the funeral customs of the Vlachs aim to equip the deceased for the 'other world,' and in the post-mortem cycle they are treated as if they were still members of the community, with active spiritual and physical needs that should be met as in life (Durlić 1995: 237).

Anthropological studies have shown that in many societies, some ways of dying are deemed better than others, while some types of deaths are considered bad. Likewise, there are certain times when dying is seen to be more or less appropriate, depending on the context. Among the many emic categories which characterize a death, the opposition between 'good' and 'bad' death is the best documented (Silverman, Baroiller and Hemer 2021: 5). Durlić also highlights that among the Vlachs, there is a clearly differentiated understanding between two types of death: 'good', regular death (VRom.[3] *muarća ku rînd*), and 'bad', irregular death (VRom. *muarća fara rînd*). The first implies dying in old age, at home, in bed, with a candle in one's hand, surrounded by one's closest family members. The second, however, bad death, implies dying early or dying without a candle (VRom. *în njegura* "in the dark").

Therefore, Durlić continues, in the case of a 'bad' death, without a candle, the family is obliged to 'send' the Heaven's candle to the deceased as soon as possible, which, as a rule, is made the night before the funeral. During the posthumous cycle, the family must also satisfy all of the deceased's culinary needs. 'Awakening' the deceased is another important ritual detail, which means that no celebration is held in honor of the deceased without first inviting them to come and personally participate in it, by going to the cemetery in the morning, setting up a table with food, drinks, flowers, candles, and water. The smell of incense and flowers is said

[3] The abbreviation *VRom.*, short for Vlach Romanian, refers to the archaic, regional variety of the Romanian language spoken by the Vlachs of Eastern Serbia (see more in Sorescu-Marinković and Huțanu 2023: 43-60).

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to open the doors of the other world and wake up the dead, who is addressed with a song, in which the key words in Vlach Romanian, are *skualã, pumenjeašće* ("get up, wake up").

According to Durlić, animatism is evident in a 'black wedding' (the burial of a person old enough for marriage with elements of wedding ceremony); the 'round dance for the dead' (as a form of returning the deceased to the social life of the community); in the complex rite of *priveg* (the ritual fires for the dead that are lit three, five or seven years 3, 5 or 7 years after the funeral, so that the deceased warm themselves, but also have light in the other world); in falling into a trance in order to communicate with the dead; in the ritual of 'pouring the water' for the dead (so that they are not thirsty in the other world); in building timber footbridges over the streams (so the deceased could return home; touching the water, in that sensitive moment, would disintegrate the soul and body, the belief has it); in the construction of fully equipped residential buildings in cemeteries, etc. Finally, Durlić notices that animatism is perhaps best illustrated by the exhumation of the deceased, 40 days after death, as it represents the transition from the symbolic catering to the deceased's physicality to a drastically concrete act. Namely, the deceased – usually a young person who passed away too soon, for whom there is a great deal of mourning among spouses or parents – is dug up in order to be washed, bathed, have their hair combed and, if necessary, have their clothing changed (Durlić 1995: 237).

Durlić even included the entry *prădăzgropat* (approx. "re-unearthing") in his recently published *Vlach-Serbian Dictionary of the Traditional Culture of the Vlachs of Eastern Serbia*, with the following explanation:

> Re-unearthing is an ancient custom that was practiced by all the Vlachs, but has been lost almost everywhere; it lasted the longest in Homolje. Because it is believed that people live in the other world forever if the sun warms them twice – once during their lifetime, the second time after death – the deceased is exhumed after forty days, early in the morning, before sunrise. Then the coffin is drawn to the edge of the grave and, when the sun rays fall on it, the lid is removed, and the coffin is held up so as to mimic the deceased getting up on their feet. It is kept facing the sun until the sun shines all over them (Durlić 2023, translation ours).

TESTIMONIES ABOUT EXHUMATION: RECENT RESEARCH

Given the shortage of information on the nature and spread of this practice, which is to our knowledge not documented elsewhere in the Balkans,[4] as well as the emptying of the villages of the region due to labor migration abroad, industrialization, and urbanization, in 2022 we decided to conduct systematic research in the Vlach villages of the Homolje region, hoping that we would still come across people who had heard about the ritual. To our surprise and satisfaction, we managed to talk to people who have also organized and taken part in the ritual.

[4] In Romanian provinces in the 19th century, for example, exhumation was regularly practiced at three, five, or seven years after the funeral, depending on the age of the deceased, but this primarily had a practical reason. Exhumation at an earlier date after the funeral was exclusively done in cases where the transformation of the dead into a vampire was suspected (Marian 1892: 414-420).

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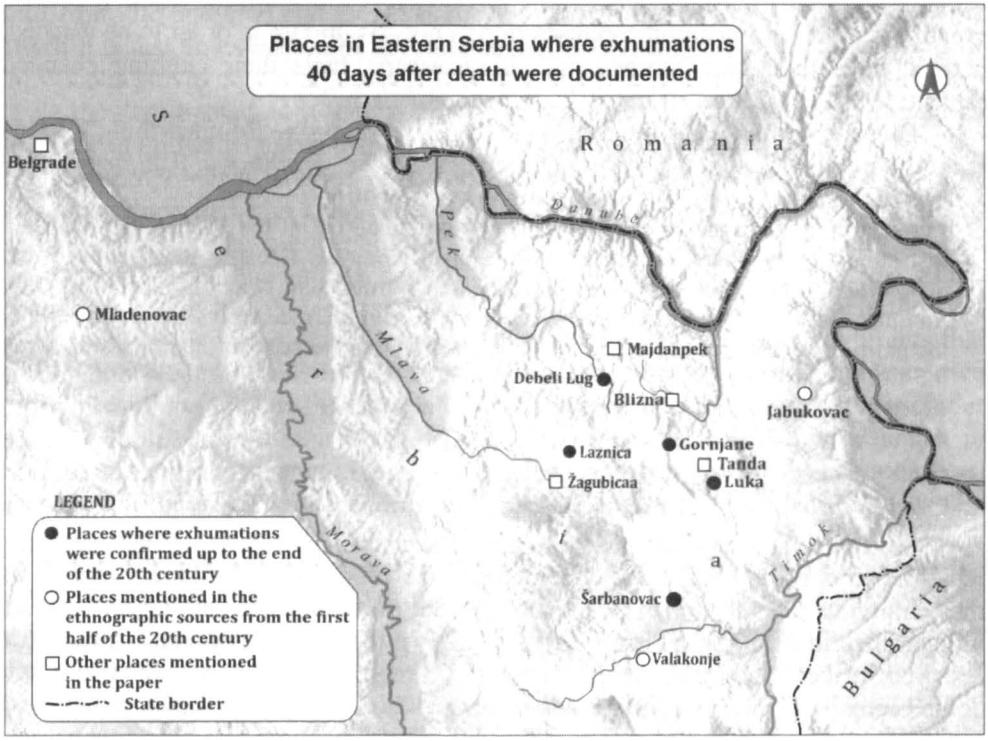
As a result, on the basis of our 2022 research, and more than 15 hours of audio and video recordings of narratives, we now have a much clearer picture of the ritual exhumation 40 days after death. As it has been mentioned, the ritual is no longer practiced, but it persisted until the last decades of the 20th century. Even though it probably had a wider spread, as the older ethnographic sources confirm, the last documented exhumations are confined to several villages of the Homolje and adjacent regions: Debeli Lug, Gornjane, Laznica, Luka, Šarbanovac (see Map).

Homolje is a small geographical region in Eastern Serbia south of the Danube River, centered around the town of Žagubica. In the narrow sense, the term Homolje refers only to the Homolje valley around the Mlava River, but here, we use it in a wider sense, as the mountainous region in Eastern Serbia which presents an extension of the Carpathian Mountains across the Danube, connecting them with the Balkan Mountains in the southeast. The region is one of the most sparsely populated areas of the Balkans and renowned for its unspoiled nature and rich folklore. It has poor infrastructure and long distances between towns, and is subject to further depopulation. The population is Serbian and Vlach.



Even if the motive for the exhumation after 40 days mentioned so far was the profound sorrow (VRom. *đe milă*) of the parents or close relatives for somebody who died very young, the discussions with our interlocutors revealed two other motives: the fear of spells (VRom. *đe făcături*) and dreams of the deceased (VRom. *cînd visădz*).

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Regarding the fear of spells or curses, according to our interlocutors, great attention was paid to the wake for the dead, as somebody might have cut a piece of clothing or a strand of hair from a young boy or girl, who are alive, and hidden it in the coffin. It was believed that the young people whose destiny was 'buried' like this in the coffin would not have any wish to continue life and get married. If the family noticed a lack of energy and desire, after a certain period of time (it did not necessarily have to be precisely 40 days), they would open the grave and the coffin and look for the piece of clothing or hair which belonged to the young one, so that they could 'bring them back to life' by taking it out of the coffin.

The second reason for which a grave would be opened 40 days after the funeral was when the deceased showed up in somebody's dream and asked for a particular object or piece of clothing to be 'sent' to them to the other world – not what was initially put in the coffin. The deceased could come in a dream to one of the family members or to somebody in the neighborhood, in one or in several similar dreams. If they dreamed of the request at a later date, it was also possible to open the grave after 40 days. Below is the transcript[5] of a conversation with a 70-year-old man from the village of Tanda in Eastern Serbia:

Dac-a murit, la noĭ a fost obiśeiu cînd moare îi puńe tot đe drum śe-ĭ trăbă, şî bîtu-ĭ puńe pîngă ĭel, a trasta îĭ puńe pe mînă. Trasta noastră ĭe *rekvizit* care ĭe măĭ taŕe đin toaće. Căśula şî trasta. Şî în trastă a m'ers p'epteń, oglindă, cîrpă, sapun, să aibă pi lumea aĭa. Şî dacă ĭĭ-a zăuitat la vrunu îĭ dă-n gînd, ĭel atunśa-l prođezgroapă, moară să pună al'a toaće. Şî dacă pînă a fost viu al muort a cătat să-ĭ pună stragana-n cap, să-ĭ pună niscaĭ ś-a al'es ĭel. Cînd oĭ muri, eće, asta vă las cu blăstăm, dacă nu-m puńeţ asta cu mińe-n l'agăn voi să nu maĭ av'eţ nimica în urma m'a, la *imanje*, la moşiĭe, la ńimic. Ş-acuma ĭeĭ nu găsăsc baş atunśa, cată aĭa śe a dzîs ĭel, şî đe zor nu găsăsc şî cînd găsăsc p'e urmă îl îngroapă cu śe o fi, că moară să-l îngroape. Cu altă căśulă, l-a îngropat cu alće opinś, ş-atunśa când l-a găsît ĭeĭ să duc şî-l đezgroapă să-i pună aĭa śe a pośit ĭel cînd a fost viu.

When someone died, for us it was customary to pack everything he would need for the trip; a stick was laid next to him, and a bag, in his hand. Our bag is the most important of all. The cap and the bag. You put a hair comb, mirror, towel, and soap inside the bag, to have in the other world. If somebody forgot it, they remembered and dug up the grave: they must place everything inside. And if, when he was alive, the dead man wanted to have a fur cap on his head, they had to. "I put a curse on you that if you don't place it in my coffin, you will lose everything, all the estate, property, everything." And if they didn't find it on the spot, they buried him with whatever they found, because they had to bury him. With another hat, with different shoes. When they finally found it, they dug him up to place what he wanted when he was alive in the coffin.

The aforementioned interlocutor from Tanda mainly talks about what he had heard about from his father or other people in the village, but the two women from the village of Laznica have first-hand experience with the tradition. They are the sister (S) and wife (W) of a man who died young, at 19 years of age. In 1979, the

[5] The recordings were made in Vlach Romanian. The transcripts of interviews are given in a partial phonetic transcription, without marking the stressed syllables, for easier reading. The inserted Serbian words are marked in italics. The researchers' questions are in parentheses, while additional clarifications are in square brackets.

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man was exhumed by the family 40 days after the funeral. In 2022, when the recording was made, the women were 66 and 62 years old, respectively. They take turns and complement each other's story, as both were eyewitnesses to the ritual. One can notice the convergence of the two motives which are reasons for exhumation: the appearance of the deceased in a dream, asking to be sent something which he did not have on the other world (here, the hat), and a 'bad' death at a very young age:

S: Pă da, îl dăzgropi şî îl dăznăroi, şî-l scoţ, îl scoţ în marźina gruopiĭ ş-acuma zavişaşće. W: *Isto ponovo* cum fu, cum a fost cînd l-a îngropat, *isto* tot cam aşa. S: Şî îl şt'erź cîta, că ĭel a muśedzît, ţoal'il'i pră ĭel a muśedzît. A fost cîta amuśe păntălońiĭ. W: Ma bińe, a fost numa cîta, nu ĭe mult, numa păru cînd am dat, aşa pică păru. S: Nu dînainće, n-a picat păru dînainće, ma dînapoĭ *ama*... A m'ers sînźe dîn nas pră gură, a m'ers şî s-a stuors aiś la căpătîń. Şî ĭel aiś a picat păru, da dînainće nu. Numa aiśa, cum a fuost, cum s-a-ntuors a m'ers sînźe dă pră nas. Îl ţîń cîta şî daĭ đe pomană, că śică aîla śe-l scoţ maĭ o dată, aîla aŕe două v'ecuri, śică maĭ o dată mai ĭese, să fiĭ pră pomînt, şćiĭ. (Aha, pîntru aĭa s-a scos.) S: Da. Pa aşa a vrut maĭca. E, săraca, ar fi făcut ĭa, care şćiĭe. Şî nu ĭ-am pus pălăriĭe. Nu ĭ-am pus pălăriĭe-n cap... că *omladina* n-a vrut atunś să-ĭ puńem pălăriĭe... Da visadză Petra lu Prîscă, ś-a fost după Stănică lu Prîscă, visadză că să-ntîlńeşće cu ĭel pă Cameńiţa. Şî cu tranzistoru la ureche. Că ĭel a avut tranzistoru aśi, l-a ţînut aśi la pinźere la ştală. Pînă paşće vaśil'iĭ, ăla cîntă. Şî ĭel tot aśi a fost multă vŕame, pînă-ncoaśe. Şî dzîśe: Da un će duś tu? Da mă duc la val'e. Da tu će duś în sat? Dzîśe: Mă duc în sat. Da-a, să-ĭ spuń la muma, la muĭerl'iĭ m'el'e, să-m' d'a palariĭe că baş nu maĭ pot cu capu gol. Ĭel mult a m'ers tot cu pălăriĭe, şćiĭ, ĭel n-a maĭ m'ers cu capu gol, să-m' d'a pălăriĭe. Şî numa P'etra ńe spuńe şî ĭĭ dăm pălăriĭa aĭa. S-a-ntărîtat maĭ mult că să-l scoćem, că ala maĭ scump v'ec pră pomînt cînd îl maĭ scoaće o dată pră asta *sv'et*... Şcii, că l-a îngropat ćinăr şî îl maĭ scoţ o dată, aŕe două v'ecuri.

S: Well, you dig him up, clean the mud off of him, put him on the edge of the pit, it depends. W: Again, the same as it was when you buried him the first time. S: You wipe him a bit, because he rotted, his clothes rotted. The trousers were a bit rotted. W: Well, only a bit, not a lot. Only when I touched his hair did it fall off. S: Not in front; his front hair did not fall off, but on the back side. Blood came out of his nose and mouth, came out and leaked onto the pillow. And he lost his hair here, not in front. Only here, when we turned him, did blood come out of his nose. You hold him a bit and make offerings, because they say that the one who gets out of the grave has two lives. Supposedly he comes back to Earth, you know. (I see, that's why they took him out.) S: Yes. Mom wanted it. Poor Mom; she would have done anything. But we didn't put a hat on his head. Because young people didn't like hats back then. And Petra of Prîscă, Stănică of Prîscă's wife, dreamt that she met him in Kamenica. He had his radio to his ear. Because he had a radio which he kept at the barn window. While the livestock was grazing, the radio was singing. He spent a lot of time there. And he asks: Where are you going? Down to the valley. What about you, are you going to the village? He says: I'm going to the village. But tell Mom, tell my women to give me a hat because I can't stand it with nothing on my head any longer. He used to wear a hat, you know. Let them give me a hat. Petra told us to give him the hat. Then Mom was even more eager to dig him out, because that is the most precious life on Earth when you get him out once more in this life. Because he was buried young and if you dig him up, he has two lives.

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The neighbor dreaming about the deceased complaining that he had no hat in the other world and he could not stand it any longer was just an added reason for the dejected mother to open the grave and see her son once more. The testimony of the two women, close relatives of the deceased, is a combination of physical observations – the rotten trousers, the blood coming out of the nose, the loss of hair – and the belief that if the deceased is taken out of the grave once more, he would have two lives: "That is the most precious life on Earth when you get him out once more in this life. Because he was buried young and if you dig him up, he has two lives."

Other interlocutors mention that the sun should shine on the person who is dug out. Below is the fragment of a conversation with another interlocutor from the village of Tanda who was 78 years old in 2022. This person recalls a discussion with a roommate from the village of Luka, who took part in such an exhumation sometime in the 1970s. The person who died young was dug out by his parents, as a consolation and for "the sun to see him once more":

Da, da, la Luk'a fac aĭa. Baş cînd am fost *srednja škola*, să dzîšem, ţimeru, aşa ń-am vorbit. Ĭo am ascultat pînă ĭel povesteşte la unu, nu şću cu care-a vorbit, *da li je neki njegov... Neki rođak. Ne znam šta mu je bio. Mislim da je taj bio Vlada Pisariu što je bio u Luku. I taj je umro mlad i onda su ga, na četres dana njegovi su ga otkopali i da li je on bio prisutan, ali nije... Kaže kad je naišao onaj smrad, povraćalo mu se. Ili je neko njemu pričao tako, u tom smislu. Znači autentično je, da je to bilo tako. Da su ga otkopali, gledali ga i pustili nazad. (Da li se priča zašto se to radilo?)* Să spuńe să-l mai vadă o dată soarl'i, nu şću. *Ali bilo je toga. Zapamtio sam to, pošto je malo ekstremno. Kod nas u selu nije bilo, nije se to radilo, ali tamo, da. Taj mlad je umro čovek i onda tako. Ne otkopava svako. Samo onaj koji... Na primer, roditelji čije dete, verovatno hoće još jednom da ga vide, pa to kao uteha, verovatno. Znači to roditelji rade, drugi ne.*

Yes, yes, they do it in Luka. When I went to high school, I talked to my roommate. I listened to him talking to somebody; I don't know whether it was his relative or somebody else. I think it was [a person called] Vlada Pisariu, from Luka. He died young and then, after 40 days, his [parents] disinterred him and I don't know exactly whether he [the roommate] was present or not. He said when the stink came, he felt like vomiting. Or somebody told him that. I mean, it was real. That they disinterred him, took a look at him, and put him back. (Did they say why it's done like that?) They say so the sun sees him once more; I don't know. But it happened. I remembered it because it's a bit extreme. In our village [Tanda] it was not, people did not do it, but over there, yes. That guy died young and stuff. Not everybody is disinterred. For example, the parents whose child died probably want to see them once more, so it's sort of a consolation, probably. Meaning the parents do it, others – no.

Nevertheless, the first interlocutor in Tanda, the 70-year-old man, mentions that sometimes, the day set for opening the grave is cloudy. Nevertheless, he explains that this is not a condition for the ritual to succeed: it is enough that the "white ray, the ray of the day" (VRom. *radza albă alu dzîuă*) touches the dead. He also mentions that the dead's face is washed with white wine by some people, and with water and basil by others:

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N-a făcut toată lumea. A đizgropat p'-aĭ ćińeŕ cînd a murit băĭat, f'ece marĭ, parinţiĭ care n-a maĭ putut. A şćiut ĭeĭ că nu ĭe bun să-ĭ đezgroape, *ama* đe dor, đe milă ĭ-a đezgropat. Da ăşć-aĭ ćińeŕ ĭĭ đezgroapă pînă nu răsăre soarl'ĭ. Să-ĭ maĭ vadă o dată soarl'ĭ. (Aşa să zîce.) Da. (Şî cine merge să-i dezgroape?) Pă m'erźe aĭ luĭ, *samo* fămeliĭa şî dacă baş vrunu atîta care, đin comşiĭ, da furiş s-a đezgropat. Nu s-a dus aĭa să şćiie toată lumea că să đezgroapă, numa să vorb'esc. Femeliĭa, *na primer*, în casă, aĭde, uĭte maĭ vrea şî *ujna*, aĭde atunśa să meargă şî *ujna*, şî aăĭa să duc să đezgroape. (La 40 de zîle). Pă pîn la patrudzăś đe dzîl'e, *kao*. Îl scot cu l'agăn cu tot şî îl pun p'e mormînt, ĭară p'e sapatură, că ĭĭ sapă, îl prosapă, şî-l pun p'e săpătură şî đeschid l'agănu şî-l spală. Uńiĭ spun că cu vin đ-al alb l-a spălat, uńiĭ cu vin, uńiĭ cu apă şî cu busuĭoc, acuma śiĭa ĭo nu şću să će mint baş cu śe să spală, *ama* cu al'a, uńiĭ aşa, uńiĭ aşa. L-a spălat p'e ochi şî-l lasă. Dacă nu îl v'eđe, cînd e novuŕală, dacă nu-l v'eđe radza al soaŕelui, îl v'eđe radza alu dzîuă. I să dzîśe şî radza albă alu dzîuă cînd să faśe. Da îl v'eđe radza albă la dzî. Dacă are ĭel *sreće* đe cînd ĭe ăla şî răsare soarl'e, îl lumină soarl'e-n ĭel şî îl ţîn cîta. Uńiĭ spun că să porńeşće să să strîśe, uńiĭ spun că *samo* śe nu vorb'eşće, care cum.

Not everybody did it. They disinterred young people when they died. Boys or girls, the parents who could not take it any longer. They knew it was not okay to do it, but they did it out of love, out of sorrow. The young ones are disinterred before the sun rises. So that the sun sees them once more. (That's what they say.) Yes. (Who goes to disinter them?) Their, only the family or if somebody really wants to, the neighbors. But it's done in secret. Not everybody knows that there's going to be a disinterring; they just agree to it. For example, the family in the house, look, the aunt also wants to, then let her come too, and they go to the grave. (After 40 days.) Well, up to 40 days. They get them out of the coffin and put it on the ground, because they dig them out, re-dig them, they put it on the ground, open the coffin and wash them. Some say they wash them with white wine, others with wine, others with water and basil. Well, I can't tell you exactly what they wash them with, some say like this, others like that. They wash their face and let them be. If it's cloudy, if the sun ray does not see them, the rays of the day will do. They call it the white ray of the day, when it dawns. If they are lucky and the sun rises, the sun shines on them and they keep them a bit. Some say they start to decay, others say they look like they could start speaking any moment; it depends.

While most of the people we talked to mention the secret or half-secret nature of the ritual, in the village of Laznica, it was apparently common practice to apply for a permission for exhumation 40 days after the funeral, from the village council, which was easily obtained, as our interlocutors described.

In the village of Blizna, on the other hand, we recorded a 90-year-old woman whose two-year-old child died in the 1950s. Devastated with sorrow, she recalls that she wanted to open up the grave so she could see her child once more, but her father-in-law did not agree to it, as he believed the pain would be even greater:

A fost aĭa. A fost, numa đe la o vŕam'e n-a maĭ fost. A perit unu cu motuoru în Maĭđan pi crivińil'e-ăl'a al'e Măidanului. Şî ĭi l-a đezgropat furiş, *ali* s-a osećit tot morminţu. Şî đi la o vŕam'e, nu. Da ĭo am tras să-m đezgroape gloćiţa m'a s-o văd şî socru-m'o nu m'-a dat. Ĭa mică, crudă, tu numa s-o v'edz, śică, şî ma'

Yes, it used to be. But at some point, it stopped. Somebody died in a motorcycle crash on those curves in Majdanpek. And they disinterred him in secret, but the entire graveyard was stinking. And after a while it stopped. I also insisted on disinterring my baby to see her, but my father-in-law did not allow it. She's small, young, if you

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gore-ț faś, da, śică, şî nu cućedz. Şî duće vŕam'e, vińe vŕam'e, aĭa s-a ştćers aĭa, s-a luvat, nu.

see her, you will feel even worse, and you shouldn't do it. So, time came and went by, it got lost, it got erased.

Mention must be made, however, of the fact that Vlachs from other regions of Eastern Serbia were startled and appalled when they were asked about this ritual. They said it was a sin to disinter the dead and that they had never heard of something like that, which goes to show that the area where the ritual was practiced is, at least today, very small and, the odd exceptions notwithstanding, it typically had a secret nature, with knowledge about the exhumation confined to the close members of the family.

CONCLUSIONS

As the older ethnographic data from the first half of the 20th century suggest, exhuming the body 40 days after death if a person died young used to be a widespread custom among the Vlachs of Eastern Serbia. However, at the end of the 20th century, its spread was already reduced to only a few villages of the Homolje region, and today, this segment of traditional culture can only be reconstructed from the testimonies of eyewitnesses.

It is difficult to say much about the origin of this phenomenon as, to our knowledge, there are no equivalent customs in the Balkans. We should however not exclude the fact that it could have been practiced more widely, either in the territories north of the Danube, where the Vlachs came from, or south of the Danube, where they settled. Nevertheless, given its taboo nature and the fact that it was practiced in the close family circle, it might have gone unnoticed and therefore remained unreported by ethnographers.

Exhumation of the people suspected to have turned into vampires, the most common type of exhumation in this part of Europe, stemmed from a profound, ancestral fear of death, and was done as an apotropaic and protective measure. Vampires allegedly threatened the animals and the entire community, who then together with the priests took part in the exhumation, which was a public act. Exhumation after 40 days, as it was practiced by the Vlachs of Eastern Serbia, on the other hand, stemmed from a similarly profound emotion, but on a different level: a deep sorrow and love for people who departed too early and too young. It comes as no surprise that not much has been written about the custom, as only the family members took part in this ritual, and in the past, the graves in numerous Vlach villages used to be individual graves on the property next to one's house, not in a community cemetery. Today, it only survives in the memory of the last people who witnessed it.

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"GLORY AND PRAISE TO YOU, LORD JESUS CHRIST": LINGUO-CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF PRAYERS AMONG BAPTIST SERBS IN ROMANIA

DUNJA RADOJEVIĆ, ALEKSANDRA DJURIĆ MILOVANOVIĆ

ABSTRACT

In this paper, our case study is the Serbian Baptist community in the Danube Gorge in Romania, from the settlements Radimna, Pojejena, Moldova Veche, Divici and Liubcova. The objective of the ethnographic field research was to collect data on non-Orthodox Serbs living outside the borders of their home country and having experienced conversion to one of the Evangelical communities during the second half of the twentieth century. One of the most significant elements of the narrative of the Serbian Baptists is the place of prayer in their daily life. This paper is analysing prayer in the wider context and more specifically using linguo-cultural analyses it provides several examples of Baptist prayer narrative, its main characteristics and patterns. The analyses focus on the question how the religious identity of Baptists can be defined or strengthened through prayer. From the aspect of linguistics and communicology, prayer is a speech act having a specific internal and external structure: it contains the beginning, duration and finalization, including the abundance of accompanying nonverbal acts. Based on the collected ethnographic data, we analyse several fragments of prayers among the Baptist Serbs which illustrate the modalities of communication through prayer.

Keywords: Baptists, Serbian minority in Romania, prayers, Evangelicals, language and religion.

INTRODUCTION

Studying language as a semantic code used for the exchange of ideas, meanings and thoughts is rather specific and multidisciplinary whereby it is necessary, *inter alia*, to describe in a complex way all the components of this unique cultural phenomenon. Communicative culture as a linguo-cultural discipline whose actuality has not subsided for decades, presents an inevitable segment of linguistics, and it is therefore present in almost all segments of society, its collective and individual actions, whereby specific patterns within a specific ethnic community, social, age, gender, professional group are created. General presence of this scientific discipline and its transparency, enabling its implementation in almost all spheres of life and modern society has also led to its

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connection with the religious sphere.[1] Communication patterns in the sacral sphere have been created based on specific social requirements and relations, and consequently several approaches to describing the phenomenon of religious communication, with very specific terminological apparatus have been developed in modern linguistics.[2]

Serbian linguist Ksenija Končarević studied communication in the sphere of religion in a publication entitled *Sacral Communications. Norms. Traditions. Means*. In the introduction to the monograph, Končarević describes complexity and multidimensionality of methodological approaches to the studying of sacral communication, but also dominant paradigms related to the research of the interaction between the language and spirituality and religion functional stylistic, communicological, discourse and sociolinguistic. This paper will focus on the communicative paradigm, specific genres of sacral and communication within the church, *i.e.* the prayer as one of its key components. Language plays a crucial role in prayer, especially in the structure and the form of prayer. Many prayers follow a specific format or structure, with specific words and phrases that are repeated or recited in a particular order. While studying the interaction between the language and religion, the analysis of sacral communication presents one of the most perspective approaches, which provides the possibility to use different types of sources to excerpt relevant data.[3]

Prayer, being a specific form of verbal communication, presents the part of church language, found in liturgical texts and performed orally; it is characterized by an expressed aesthetic motivation and significantly decreased stereotypes in relation to the theological language, *i.e.* the language of theology.[4] It is important to stress that the sacral word differs from the secular one in a number of characteristics and in the specificity of the language function. The function of liturgical language while creating the sense of unity and socialization in the liturgical community is achieved through the frequent usage of pronoun, *we*, as well as through the usage of verb forms in the first-person plural in the church (liturgical) language. This is confirmed in numerous other prayers, whereas it is expressed in the most comprehensive manner in the prayers uttered by a priest during the liturgy.[5]

Regardless of how the prayer is defined, it is considered "a conversation or dialogue with God".[6] Nevertheless, the prayer itself is much more than only addressing God, than using words – it is an occasion of "union with God and unity of love with him".[7]The prayer is a religious direction of an individual towards God.[8]

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[1] Končarević 2013: 9.

[2] Terms religious language, cultic language, language of the sacral, language of prayer, liturgical language, religious discourse, religious style, religious-narrative style, religious use of language, religious communication, etc. have been widely scientifically used.

[3] Končarević 2013: 32.

[4] Končarević et al. 2004: 146.

[5] Bajić 2007: 37.

[6] Ivanda 2005: 3.

[7] Bajić 2007: 63.

[8] Brajnčaninov2005.

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Communication in liturgical prayer is established on several levels: 1. through the dialogue of the priest – presider of liturgical gathering with God 2. through the dialogue of the priest with devotees 3. through the dialogue of an officiant with a purpose of performing divine service. 4. through the dialogue of every participant in the prayer meeting with God.[9] However, if the prayer is identified with supplication, it all reduces to "mere plea and humble entreaty".[10]

Even though prayer is defined as a verbal act with a clearly defined structure, individual prayer may also be unverbalized, expressed through the internal monologue (without any words pronounced). Prayers that are not verbalized denote the feeling of "God's presence in our souls, when there are no requirements for words, as this feeling is entirely sufficient".[11] Prayers are nowadays wordy solely by their form, whilst they are spiritual by their strength.[12] A wide spectrum of patterns related to emotional conduct of the participants in the service of worship including love, joy, pleasure and pleasantness, experiencing aesthetically appealing, wondering, admiration and alike is typical for the language of prayer and divine service in addition to communicative-social and intellectually-cognitive functions.[13]

The ability to apply the methods of linguistics and communicative culture while describing the aspects and phenomena from the sacral sphere is evident in the above-stated text. In this paper, we aim to contribute to better understanding of the role prayer has in the various branches of Christianity.

PRAYER IN CHRISTIANITY – ORTHODOXY

The Bible and other religious texts place great importance on prayer; there are numerous testimonies about overcoming life hardships and sufferings, about miracles that happened owing to a prayer. Prayer is one of the basic needs of corporeal-mental-spiritual side of a human; it is cultivated using different names and in different ways in all religions of the world, and it was raised to the highest spiritual heights in Christianity (especially the Orthodox one).[14] Prayer is a journey towards God, where the stages of the journey to be made are different devotional states entered by those who pray properly and steadily. An Angel has once revealed to a holy monk the following order of thoughts when praying that is pleasing to God: "The beginning of the prayer ought to be composed of glorification of God, thanksgiving for his numerous beneficences; then we are obliged to offer to God an honest confession of our sins; in the end we may bring before the Lord, but with great humbleness, prayers for our spiritual and corporeal needs, devoutly leaving the fulfilment or nonfulfillment of those prayers to his will".[15]

[9] Končarević et al. 2004: 156.
[10] Florovski 1996: 10.
[11] Bajić 2007: 79.
[12] Zatvornik 1998: 492.
[13] See Končarević et al. 2004: 170.
[14] Kalezić 2002.
[15] Brjančaninov 2005.

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In the Orthodox faith liturgical prayer or prayer of the Church is "a rule and pattern, measure and criterion, expression of the gathering and the sense of every prayer". The prayer is, according to Nikolai Berdyaev, provoked by the need not to feel totally dependent on the inescapability that rules the world, on the world forces of destiny. According to the testimony of St. Paul the Apostle and Holy Fathers, there are no words in the human language that could name, define and express everything that humans obtain from God through prayer. The word of the prayer has no time or space limitations. It iconizes people, by giving them back their original dignity, allowing them to "overcome human dimension and their own abilities".[16] Engaging in a prayer is the most sublime activity of a human mind, leading it to the state of purity, which is its most sublime state.[17]

Being a central divine service of the church, liturgy is the most important and central prayer: the Eucharist, which ends during the liturgy, has historically always been the prayer center and the essence of church life.[18] Liturgy, when translated from Greek, means «communal act»; churchgoers gather in the temple to say communal, congregational prayer. It is this unity of heart and soul in God that makes the prayer universal.[19]Personal prayer should be universal, that is, it should encompass everything, the entire universe, and a praying heart ought to embrace all the hardships and all the pain of the humanity. Even though it is difficult to differentiate between congregational and personal prayer, there are still functional and genre criteria owing to which they may be differentiated.

Congregational prayer is performed during the divine service, with the mandatory participation of a clergyman. There are several forms of congregational prayer–liturgy, evening prayer, moleben, panikhida (parastos – prayer for the dead), litany, etc. As a form of sacral communication, congregational prayer is characterized by a number of textual genres with different intentions and a certain order, canonically defined and prescribed in liturgical instructions for every individual year: in addition to prayer, tropak, kondak,[20] psalms and alike belong to this group.[21] Every prayer uttered by a priest, is confirmed and completed by churchgoers by saying *Amen*.[22]

On the other hand, individual, personal prayers, are said without intermediary and do not use genre groups in their full form, but genres recommended to this aim: canon, akathist, tropar, kondak, magnificence. It is also recommended to use texts written by Saints and approved by the Church in a personal prayer. Liturgical hymns and texts of prayerbooks in the Orthodox tradition have not been considered to be copyright works, but to be the product of beneficial God's help – "co-authorship of the Spirit".[23] In the individual prayer believers pray to God, Holy

[16] Kamadakis 1986: 270.
[17] Brjančaninov 2005.
[18] Bajić 2007: 51.
[19] Končarević 2017: 174.
[20] Type of the hymn performed in the Orthodox and Eastern-Catholic liturgical tradition.
[21] Ickovič, 2019: 235.
[22] Bajić, 2007: 51.
[23] Končarević et al. 2004: 150.

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Trinity, Mother of God, bodiless powers, *i.e.* angels, archangels, saints.[24]It is really important to emphasize that congregational prayer does not abolish an individual prayer; actually, it stimulates, inspires and mimics it.[25] Even if a man prays alone at home, he joins the congregational prayer of all the living and the dead, since liturgically, universality and synergy of the prayer appear to be universal and comprehensive in the Orthodox faith.[26]

First of all, prayer is co-existence and man's unity with God, which can be liturgically confirmed by saying: "The Christ is with us – it is and it will be".[27] In the Orthodox tradition, prayers were formulated for different occasions and needs by the Holy Fathers of the Church; therefore they are uttered with a pronounced canonicity, not "using our own words".

Prayer occupies a significant and special place in the written works of numerous teachers of the Church, with Saint Theophan the Reclusebeing one of the most prominent. In his numerous works, the Saint devoted special attention to prayer and to prayerful ascesis, thereby pointing to the essence of the prayer, its significance and role in the spiritual life.[28] Speaking about the essence of prayer and the laws of spiritual life, Saint Theophanstates states: "Prayer is a great and sacred opus; it is a fragrant flower of spiritual life. He who knows how to pray, he is already being saved"; "It is a key to heavenly treasuries, a mediator between God and mankind, a ladder that unifies Heaven with Earth, creation with the Creator". "Prayer is the science of all sciences; it is everything: faith, love and salvation".

The *Orthodox Prayer Book*[29], which was blessed by the most supreme Spiritual Fathers, including the restful Serbian Patriarch Pavle, states that the teachers of the church and Holy Fathers advise everyone to be humble and contrite in their heart during the prayer owing to their sins. If a man does not feel sinful in his heart, God will not answer his prayers. A prayer beaded with tears of appeasement and repentance will be answered immediately. Our relationship with God reflects our prayer, and the opposite, our prayer reflects our relationship with God.

Končarević made a significant contribution to studying theology in the Serbian speaking area through her monograph *Language and Religion. Theolinguistics Glossary* by describing the notions in the field of theolinguistics. Among the most versatile terms in the area of religion, prayer occupies an important place when stated in different contexts. In that respect, Končarević states numerous examples of how prayer is defined in the Christian tradition. It is defined as follows: "Elevation of the mind to God", as defined by Jovan Damaskin; "the soul of faith" (H.E. Fosdick); "opening one's heart to God" (K. Rahner);

[24] Ickovič 2019: 235.
[25] Končarević et al. 2004: 155.
[26] Končarević 2017: 174.
[27] Končarević et al. 2004: 156.
[28] Maslarić, 2015.
Православни молитвеник. Штампарија Српске патријаршије, Београд: 1998; с благословом Његове Светости Архиепископа пећког, Митрополита београдско – карловачког и Патријарха српског Павла и чланова Светог архејерејског сабора Српске православне цркве.

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"response to God's former love" (D. Steere); "expressing a religious sensation" (F. Heiler); a way to meet God "in person" (G. Buttrick).[30]

Orthodox prayer is composed of four basic elements: a) doxology or praise, b) thanksgiving, c) repentance, contrition owing to sins, d) entreaty. Their mutual relation within prayer service is flexible, so that, for instance, the prayer may commence (after the simplest call *«Oh, Lord!»*) with confession and repentance, and then with thanksgiving and doxology elevating at the end. In the mentioned *Orthodox Prayer Book* the importance of the way the believers cross themselves has been emphasized: "We cannot neglect the fact that one should cross oneself when praying. Nevertheless, it is necessary to cross oneself properly, unlike those who act as if they are ashamed of the cross of God, entangling fingers before their face and chest, without even folding them properly and placing them where appropriate. Careless placing of the cross on oneself aggrieves the Lord and is considered sinful for the worshipper. Such placing of the cross is not only powerless, but it also rejoices devils, as then it is not the most dreadful weapon against them".[31]

Pouring out of the soothed soul, according to Solomon the Wise, the prayer gets through the clouds without dwelling on before reaching the Lord. Therefore, it is a wonderful habit to address God heartily using brief prayers on all occasions and events.[32]The motives to pray are numerous and individualized, the prayer is characterized by an array of forms and the ways of pronunciation, so that *the Lord's Prayer* is undoubtedly mostly used both individually and collectively. In the Orthodox faith, the mystical tradition of hesychasm has developed the so called *Jesus Prayer* (*"Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me, a sinner"*), which was nourished for centuries of its existence primarily on Mount Athos.[33] Whereas the Roman Catholic prayer Ave Maria, associated with the meditative usage of rosary, has long been a popular form of godliness.[34] When the Jesus prayer pervades our entire body and grows into the unity of mind, heart and will, it introduces a man into a mystical condition of contemplation – the harmony of all psychophysical forces and elements inside a man has been achieved.[35]

Končarević also speaks about "the prayer of all prayers", which occupies a special place in the Christianity. It is the Lord's Prayer – *Our Father*, which became the model prayer for all subsequent Orthodox prayer services owing to its divine origin and priority.[36] Tertullian, the Christian apologist coming from Carthage and one of the most prolific writers of the Latin Christian literature of his era wrote that Our Father prayer "encompasses the lifelong learning of the

[30] Končarević, 2017: 159.
[31] Orthodox prayer book 9-10.
[32] Brčjančaninov, 2005.
[33] Kalezić, 2002.
[34] Končarević 2017: 160.
[35] Kalezić, 2002.
Končarević analyses thoroughly and in detail the structure of *The Lord's Prayer* in the mentioned monograph, focusing attention to each of its parts, which testifies once again to the importance of this prayer in the Christian world (for further information, see page 165-170).

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Lord...this prayer is truly an abbreviated form of the entire Gospel." Apart from numerous differences in the liturgy of the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Church, there are also common components including congregational prayers, prayers of invocation, priestly prayers, prayers for the sanctification of bread and wine in the Eucharist and traditional prayers such as *Kirie Eleison* and *Agnus Dei*. When we speak about the differences and following the standardization of liturgical prayer, the Roman mass became obligatory in the West, whereas the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom prevailed in the East.[37]

Although the narratives of prayer services were not considered to be copyright works, the Orthodox Church is faced with the challenges of liturgical renewal, being motivated by the necessity for general renaissance. When it comes to the content of liturgical renewal, contemporary Orthodox theologians agree with the former attitudes of Slovenian luminaries and are therefore unified in the stance that laities should be more present in all aspects and forms of divine service. In the broader sense, liturgical renewal also implies the reaffirmation of the pluralities when it comes to forms and expressions of liturgical art and spirituality, including their enlargement and enrichment with contemporary arts, new prayers where the special requirements of time and the surroundings in which we live would find their place.

RESEARCH OF THE SERBIAN BAPTIST COMMUNITIES IN ROMANIA

The case study in this paper for analysing prayer is the Serbian Baptist communities in Romania. This paper is based on the data collected during qualitative ethnographic research in five Baptist communities in the region of the Danube Gorge (Western Romania). The Danube Gorge stretches along 142 km from Baziaș to Drobeta Turnu Severin. Serbs have lived in thirteen of its settlements since medieval times. According to the 2011 census, there were approximately 18,000 ethnic Serbs living in Romania, most of whom reside in the western part of the country, particularly in the Banat region. Serbs live throughout Romania, in all counties, however they are most numerous in the counties of Timiș, Caraș-Severin, Arad and Mehedinți. Dominant confession of the Serbian community in Romania is the same as the confession of the majority population, being Orthodox Romanians. The Serbs in Romania are largely Orthodox, with Serbian Orthodox Churches in almost all settlements where Serbs reside, whereas the seat of the Serbian Orthodox Diocese is situated in Timisoara and has three churches in the city itself. The Serbian Orthodox Diocese of Timisoara encompasses 57 parishes within 56 church communities in what is today modern Romania, including 67 parish and monastery churches and chapels.[38]

Ethnographic data was collected in the research conducted in 2010 in the five settlements of the Danube Gorge in the Romanian part of Banat: Radimna, Pojejena, Moldova Veche, Divici and Liubcova. One of the objectives of field research was to collect ethnographic documents in the mentioned settlements

[37] Končarević 2017: 160.
[38] Đurić Milovanović 2012: 118.

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having as majority Serbian Baptist communities. The aim of the research was to collect documents about non-Orthodox Serbs living outside the borders of their home country and having converted to Protestantism, more accurately, to Baptism in the second half of the twentieth century. Conversion to Baptism is a religious phenomenon not typical only for Serbs, but also for the members of other ethnic communities inhabiting this area.[39]

Baptism, being an evangelical movement, developed within the scope of European Protestantism in England and Holland in the early seventeenth century. Evangelical movement is a product of reformation, encompassing different Protestant and non-Protestant communities all over the world. Etymology of the word evangelical derives from the Greek word *ευαγγελιον*-evangelion, meaning good news, that is good news on the salvation through Jesus Christ and spreading good news to others. In the early nineteenth century evangelical theology began emphasizing the renewal of church and believers, as well as evangelization, *i.e.* the dissemination of the Gospel, which is interpreted as returning to the sources and to the essence of Christianity. Thus, evangelical Christianity developed as "a natural development of Protestantism going through several religious excitations, whereas its theology was focusing on the observation and the development of Christian life".[40]Evangelical Christians belong to an array of different neo-Protestant communities, having their origins primarily in the Anabaptist wing of European reformation, but also in the British reformation nonconformist wing. It represents original, Apostolic, New-Testament Christianity, with the emphasis on the importance of the Bible, experiencing Christ as a personal Saviour, insisting on the real experience of the Holy Spirit when experiencing spiritual revival and in the holy life afterwards. Evangelical theology developed in the twentieth century primarily within the scope of apologetics and ethics, whereas its basic sense was to study thoroughly the Bible, with the prayer, putting emphasis on the Gospels, awaiting the second coming of Jesus Christ, living in the community of believers and celebrating Christ.[41] In addition, theology of evangelical Christianity is trinitarian, with the emphasis on the deep attachment to the Bible, its daily reading and studying, experiencing Christ as a personal saviour and insisting on the real experience of the Holy Spirit. Certain interpretations of Bible doctrine had an impact on the creation of various evangelical, primarily charismatic Pentecostal communities in the nineteenth and the twentieth century. Evangelical movement, in the eighteenth and the nineteenth century, led to the "awakening" amongst Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians and other protestant denominations, not only in Europe and the USA, but also owing to missionaries in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Baptists were born out of the English Puritanism and as a result of the contact with the Dutch Mennonites; former Anglican priests John Smyth and Thomas Helwys established the first Baptist Church in Holland in 1609. Under

[39] See the study on Czech Baptists in the Danube Gorge: Preda 2011: 56-79.
[40] Bjelajac 2003: 8.
[41] Bjelajac 2003: 8.

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the influence of Anabaptists, John Smyth defined Baptist doctrine that was based on the baptism of adult believers. As an essence of their learning, Baptists attach great importance to the personal experience of God and to spiritual revival, while the salvation occurs only through rebirth and subsequently baptizing. Baptist historian Walter Shurden defined "four freedoms" in the Baptist theology: soul, church, bible and religious.[42] Baptist movement went through a powerful expansion in the USA especially in the period of the Great Awakening, after 1790. Even though Baptists emerged in Holland, the movement spread quickly throughout Europe owing to the network of missionaries, firstly in Germany, then in Denmark, Austria, Poland, certain regions of Russia and in the Balkans. Baptist history is rather dynamic and rich, I would like to mention the founding of the Baptist missionary society in 1792 by William Carey. The first Baptist World Alliance was established in London in 1905 during the First Baptist Congress.

Following Nazarenes, Baptists commenced spreading their learning with the arrival of German colporteurs from the Hungarian Bible Society in 1878 in the Banat, where they started their missionary activities. The influence of European Baptism in Germany contributed to the occurrence and development of Baptist communities firstly among the Germans and later on amongst other ethnic groups of Hungarians, Slovaks, Czechs, Serbs and Romanians. Before long, Baptism was accepted by Orthodox Romanians, while the first Serbian Baptist communities were founded in the Danube Gorge in certain Serbian settlements in the early twentieth century. The most numerous and largest Baptist churches are in the Banat, in the towns of Oradea, Arad and Timisoara. Among the Serbs in the Northern Banat, that is in Banatska Crna Gora there are not many Baptist churches, which was not the case with churches in the Gorge. Nazarenes were the first neo-Protestants to appear among the Banat Serbs in the late 19th century in the area of Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The first baptisms in the Danube Gorge were performed in the Romanian settlements of Moldova and Coronini in 1919, which soon became strong missionary centres with preachers spreading the Baptist faith in other nearby settlements as well. As Sînziana Preda stresses, "In everyday language, in the collective mentality, Romanians refer to the members of these churches as "repenters" (in Romanian, *pocăiți*); they are distinguished from other Christian groups by the practice of adult baptism".[43] Romanian missionaries were spreading Baptism also among Serbs, while the first Serbian settlement in which the presence of Baptist Serbs was recorded was Pojejena Sârbă where two Serbian families turned Baptists in 1936. The first baptisms of Baptist Serbs were performed in 1948 by the river of Radimna. The emergence of Baptism in the region where the research was done is also characterized by multiethnic population structure in the settlements of the Danube Gorge, where the Serbs under the influence of other ethnic groups that is missionaries got familiar with the Baptist doctrine.

[42] Shurden 1993.
[43] Preda 2018: 278.

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RESEARCHING BAPTIST SERBS IN THE DANUBE GORGE

It is stated in the local historical sources on Baptist community in the Danube Gorge area that Nazarenes were the first community to adopt adult baptism and who were later on spreading new faith in their settlement: "In Moldova Veche, it was the Nazarene Iva Stefanović who brought baptism into his village".[44] In 1936 two Serbian families in Pojejena Sârbă converted to Baptist Christianity, but the first baptisms, in the river Radimna, were not performed until 1948. In one of the oldest Danube Gorge settlements, Radimna, the first Baptist baptizing was performed in 1954, and the newly converted Baptists gathered in a private house of one of the believers. The prayer house did not exist, and, in the following years, Baptist Serbs went to church at a neighbouring place three kilometres away. It was not until 1975 that the church in Pojejena Sârbă obtained permission and started to offer worship services in the Serbian language. After numerous problems with authorities, the Serbian Baptist Church was founded in Radimna in 1988. The largest baptism was performed in 1993, with up to twenty people present and, on that occasion, as stated by Budimir, "two brothers from Yugoslavia were also preaching in the Serbian language".[45]In numerous Serbian villages in the Gorge, Baptist communities emerged only after the 1989 Revolution – Divici, Baziaş, Belobreşca, Zlatiţa (even though there were only few of them). Baptism expanded faster in Romania due to missionary work, an increasing number of educated preachers, and the legalized position of Baptist communities. Further south in the Banat, in the Danube Gorge, there are several settlements where Serbian members compose more than a half of the Baptist community, and in some of them worship services are performed in Serbian language.

Based on the research conducted in the Baptist communities, one can conclude that there are certain verbal situations common to all communities and dealing with divine service and sermon, prayers, singing hymns, performing music and evangelization. Divine service is performed in accordance with defined scheme in the Baptist communities, even though small deviations may occur if a community is visited by a foreign guest or a guest coming from another community. The prayer plays a significant role for neo-Protestants not only during the divine service, but also in the everyday life. Based on the testimonies of our informants, believers pray in their homes daily, as well as in the houses of worship during the divine service. Believers are advised to read the Bible once a day, while the "quiet hours" refer to the period of prayer, which is practised several times a day. There are prayers of supplication, thanksgiving and praise to God. An expression "heartfelt prayer", as stated by our informants from the Baptist Church, relates to the spontaneous prayers uttered individually by believers during the divine service. In the very beginning, following the first hymns and a brief introduction into a sermon, believers pray aloud intermittently, while in ethnically mixed communities everyone utters a prayer in their mother tongue. For Baptists, the prayer represents a daily religious practice as the most important segment of

[44] Budimir, S. 1994: 86.
[45] Idem: 73.

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religious life. The prayer is one of the forms of communication with the divine realm, probably the phenomenon that is the most frequent and most available to common believers, directed at obtaining help and the well-being of believers. How can the religious identity of Baptists be defined through prayer? Based on the collected ethnographic documents, we are going to present and analyse several fragments of prayers among the Baptist Serbs which illustrate the modalities of communication through prayer:

[1] Oh, dear heavenly father, Lord Jesus Christ, we want, Jesus Christ, to glorify and honour you, and pay you respect, Lord, at this marvellous moment, for bestowing upon me one day of life alone, thank you (*thank you*). Thank you, God, I have no words, Lord Jesus Christ, we have lived on Earth for thousands and for hundreds of years, and we have to be thankful. So, please, Lord, help us follow you using your steps (*Amen; Lord, help us*). So, I pray to you, Lord Jesus Christ, for our health (*Amen*), look after our brothers, sisters, our churches. So, we pray to you, God, for all heavenly shepherds (*Amen*), we pray to you for missionaries, wherever they are, Lord Jesus Christ, help the sick, Lord Jesus Christ, hold out your right hand, God and send us your spirit, Lord, Dear God, heavenly Lord, we live, Lord, in troubled times (*yes*), the final days have come, Lord, so we pray to you, Lord, give us strength, Lord Jesus Christ to endure difficult moments, troubled times and I praise you, Jesus Christ. Thank you, God, glory to you and pray in your name and in the name of Jesus Christ, Amen.

[2] It is our soul that glorifies and praises you, our Great God, thank you our God and our Lord for being here in your home, I praise you (*I praise*). Through your grace and your great goodness, we are here now (*yes*). It is our soul that praises and glorifies you for you are great (*yes*). Please, Lord, bless this day (*Amen*), may it pass in the glory, praise and honour of your holy name. Lord, bless your holy words, your servants and in all things done, Lord, may your name be blessed, glorified, and now also eternal, Amen.

[3] Our father, who are in heaven, I may thank you, Lord, for all the good you have done (*thank you*) to these people, for the rain on time (*Amen*). So, I pray to you, Lord, to give me more reason, more power, more patience, Lord Jesus Christ, so that I can praise and glorify you, Lord. So, I pray to you, Lord, for all of my brothers, for all of the sisters in this world. So, I pray to you, God, for my family, for all brothers and sisters, for the entire world, and the entire nation to glorify and praise you, in the name of the father, of the son and the Holy Spirit, Amen.

[4] Thank you, heavenly Lord Jesus Christ, for this day, thank you for our intelligence and reason, thank you for telling us quietly what we should be like, what we should do and how we should act. Thank you, Lord Jesus Christ, for our guests, for having people showing interest in us, Lord Jesus Christ, may someone see how we live and what we do, Lord. Thank you for all, Lord, I pray to you, stay with us, I pray to you on behalf of the sisters from Divić, give them strength to stay on the lord's path, I pray to you for our guests, stay with them, rescue them on their path from every evil action, may your will be done, Amen.

[5] I also thank you, Jesus Christ our Lord, first of all, I thank you for your love and grace, for being in your home this morning. Thank you, Jesus Christ our Lord for creating this day, to praise and glorify your holy name, which belongs only to you and to nobody else, Jesus Christ. I pray to you to bless this gathering, bless every soul and help every soul to be

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saved, Jesus Christ our Lord, help to save my family, Lord Jesus Christ. My grandchildren, my great-grandchildren, my children, so that we can all jointly praise and glorify your name. You are the greatest, Jesus Christ our Lord and you bear the greatest name, for that reason you are worthy to accept all the praises, honour and glory from your children and there is no God beside you, Jesus Christ our Lord. Help us to be faithful to you and be afraid of your holy name, thank you for all the gifts, for all the blessings you have so far bestowed upon me, Jesus Christ our Lord and for everything I have received from your holy hands, for everything I praise you and glorify you. May your holy name be blessed and glorified, heavenly father, from this moment on, Amen.

PRAYER AS A FORM OF RELIGIOUS EXPRESSION

Liturgical discourse is a complex socio-communicative phenomenon, encompassing a whole different set of spheres, and is therefore represented in all types of liturgical narratives.[46] In each sphere, including the sacral one, language is much more than merely the combination of letters and sounds. It contains a message, capturing reality, whereas words, when placed in an adequate environment, get life and strength. When one speaks about the religious sphere, the sense of words is revealed by knowing the structure of the language in which God's word has been written down. From the aspect of linguistics and communicology, prayer is a speech act having a specific internal and external structure: it contains the beginning, duration and finalization, including the abundance of accompanying nonverbal acts. Even though the prayer is part of non-linguistic reality, *i.e.* it exists beyond language, exceeding the plane of speech event and communicative dimensions within the empirical reality, it can be implemented in all the spheres of communication in a socio-cultural collective without excluding the option of making linguistic analysis. Formal realization of congregational prayer is by its virtue the unity of musical, verbal and spiritual elements, with the numerous effects on the participants in the liturgy: emotional – experiential, ascetic, moral effect, the sense of belonging to the community, inner purification, spiritual growth, confrontation to detrimental and undesirable thoughts and sentiments – passions and reaching good, sublime and desirable thoughts and sentiments.

Prayers presented in the previous section address God using a number of honorific titles, such as "heavenly Father" and "Lord Jesus Christ", including a number of expressions of gratitude, such as "thank you" and "we have to be thankful". These expressions serve to reinforce the idea that believers are thankful to God for the gift of life and for other blessings, and they also reinforce the idea that God is a beneficent force in the world. Another notable element of the prayer is the use of repetition. The phrase "Lord Jesus Christ" is repeated several times throughout the prayer, as is the phrase "we pray to you". This repetition serves to emphasize certain themes and ideas, and it also reinforces the idea that believers should focus their attention on certain aspects of their faith. The prayer also includes a number of requests or petitions, such as

[46] Končarević 2006a: 81-85.

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"help us follow you using your steps" and "look after our brothers, sisters, our churches". These requests serve to establish a sense of dependence on God and reinforce the idea that believers need God's help and guidance in order to live a virtuous life. Finally, prayersincludes a sense of urgency and concern about the state of the world, with references to "troubled times" and "the final days". The prayer includes a sense of reverence and respect for God's power and authority. For example, the prayer refers to "your holy name", "your children", and "your holy hands". These phrases serve to reinforce the idea that God is a powerful and all-knowing force in the world, and they also reinforce the idea that believers should approach God with humility and reverence.

Discourse analysis of prayers indicate existence of the following elements: addressing, thanksgiving and praying. The above-mentioned order may be regarded as a pattern, as there are almost no deviations from it. Several forms of addressing are observed: *Good Lord* (it is regarded as the most frequent form), *Oh, Lord, Lord Jesus Christ, Father, Heavenly Father.* Addressing God is at the same time the most frequent word that is observed in prayers, whose repetition is continuous and quite remarkable: *therefore, I ask you Lord, have mercy on all communities, the young, the old, the sick; thank you for everything, Lord, I beseech you, etc.*

The following, but equally important element of the structure, whose integral part is glorifying the name of God, is thanksgiving, in the first place relating to the possibility to be present in the church and in the prayer (expressing the above-mentioned need to belong to the community). Other forms, less expressed in terms of frequency, encompass thanksgiving for blessings (also extremely frequent), concern, love and mercy, for reason and sense, for bestowments.

In every prayer, it is important to emphasize that the words: *I, me* are observed in almost no prayers. The sense of brotherhood is ubiquitous, portrayed in the following words: *we, us, all, for all.* In the first place, as markedly represented we state prayers for blessings: *to bless this meeting, every soul; our work; our village; our community and everything done in it.* Praying for salvation is equally important and evident: *(Lord) help us to save every soul; to have you visible in our lives*; *to have mercy on our families.* Believers ask from God in their prayers the mercy for their children, for the sick, for their loved ones, for their village or their state. Other forms of praying are individual and less represented: prayer for firm faith and will, for patience, humility.

Choral utterances in the course of an individual interpretation may be mentioned as a very significant part of the structure and an important component of the analysis; it is realized in the background; it is of lower intensity in the form of individual words, among which the most frequent are: *Amen, please, thank you, have mercy* and alike. Through this act other present believers join an individual prayer.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this paper our case study was the Serbian ethnic minority community living in the Danube Gorge who, although predominately Serbian Orthodox, joined

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the Baptist Church. Their new religious identity presents the consequence of their contact with other ethnic communities which spread with missionary efforts neo-Protestantism to the Banat region, but also with Romanian missionaries who had well-organized and developed Romanian Baptist Churches. The research of this small neo-Protestant community has shown that in the Baptist service the prayer plays the central role in the religious practice, both individual and collective. From theological perspective, the joint prayer during the divine service symbolizes connecting believers through joint practice. Baptist prayers focused on personal relationship with God through Jesus Christ, the importance of repentance though confession of sins and asking for forgiveness. Prayers in Baptist service also include praying for others, especially those who are not believers yet. Another important aspect is expression of gratitude and speaking with God in direct and authentic way. Religious identity plays a significant role in how people engage in prayer and represents an important expression of their faith and a way to connect with their religious community. Public prayers which are expressed during the service in the Baptist church appear to be spontaneous however certain pattern and repetition exists. Certain patterns are observed, including high frequency phrases, sense of unity, but also individualism, a personal touch deriving from a devotee's inspiration, which proves the coexistence of canonically standardized and personal/individual approach to expressing a prayer in the Baptist communities of Serbs in Romania.[47]

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A MULTILEVEL CLASSIFICATION OF CĂLUȘ TUNES (ARGEȘ COUNTY)

MIHAELA NUBERT-CHEȚAN

ABSTRACT

The Ethnomusicological Study of Căluș Dances became part of the research plan of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore "Constantin Brăiloiu". The analysed corpus of the Căluşul in Argeş consists of 200 tunes recorded by ethno-choreologist Anca Giurchescu, as *direct observation* or as *re-enactment*, and fully transcribed. In order to obtain a valid classification, we considered that the analysing terms should gather pieces with common features. Accordingly, we selected three coalescing parameters for defining the characteristics of this repertoire. This analysis led to a classification with 12 categories, *infra-classes*, which can be gradually grouped in *sub-classes* and, at a superior level, in *classes*. The special feature of our approach resides in the fact that these are interchangeable, which allows *alternative multilevel classifications*, in any necessary order. We consider that the analytical potential of the *alternative multi-level classification* is significant in highlighting the system of preferential relations created between hythmic, architectonic and melodic structures at the level of the entire repertoire.

Keywords: rhythmic, architectonic, melodic level, multilevel classification.

In 2003, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) adopted the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. This convention represents a significant international commitment to protect and promote cultural diversity, acknowledging the invaluable importance of intangible heritage for the identity and traditions of a certain community. Today, in the year 2023, we mark the 20th anniversary of the adoption of this Convention. During these 20 years, communities around the world have worked together to identify and protect unique and valuable intangible heritage. An outstanding example of this effort in Romania is the selection of the first custom to be included on UNESCO heritage list: *Căluș*, 2005-2008:

Performed in the Olt region of southern Romania, the Căluș ritual dance also formed part of the cultural heritage of the Vlachs of Bulgaria and Serbia [...] The ritual's name derives from the Căluș, the wooden part of the horse's bridle. The Căluș ritual features a series of games, skits, songs and dances, and was enacted by all-male Călușari dancers to the accompaniment of two violins and an accordion [...] Groups of Călușari dancers, sporting colourful hats, embroidered shirts and trousers adorned with small jingling bells, perform complex dances, which combine stamping, clicking of the heels, leaping and swinging of the legs. According to tradition, groups of dancing and chanting Călușari, who were thought to be endowed with magical healing powers,

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went from house to house, promising good health and prosperity to villagers. Until today, Căluşari meet to celebrate their dancing and musical prowess on Whit Sunday[1].

We should also mention that the *Căluş* ritual is present on a larger area in the south of Romania. The beginning of research interest for this ritual was marked by Constantin Brăiloiu's recording of the musical repertoire, in London, in 1935[2]. Two decades later, the ethno-choreologist Vera Proca completed the first collection of the dance in Pădureţi, also recording the violin melodies on magnetic tape[3]. The topic was later approached by Anca Giurchescu, the ethno-choreologist who recorded musical pieces during *direct observation or re-enactment* of the ritual in villages Stolnici, Hârseşti, Zorile, Cornăţel, Ungheni, Pădureţi, Fălfani and Mozăceni (in Argeş County), between 1972 and 1973[4]. Subsequently, the author drew up a classification which shows a unitary structure of the dance cycle all over Argeş and Olt Counties: a) *specific Căluşar dances*, compatible with the ritual circumstance, represented by a "variable number of *moves* which could be considered structural units individualized with names and marked by introduction and end, as well as a variable number of *walks*, b) dances also performed in other contexts, such as the village *hora*[5], weddings etc., represented by *Căluş Hora* and *Căluş Sârba*, being played at the end, and c) free dances, performed when the host requires them, *Tărăşelul, Alunelul, Amploieţii, Băluţa* etc." (Giurchescu 2009: 79-81).

The Ethnomusicological Study of Căluş Tunes (Project no. 3 – National Folklore Collection) became part of the research plan of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore "Constantin Brăiloiu". The analysed corpus of the Căluşul in Argeş consists of 200 tunes recorded by ethno-choreologist Anca Giurchescu, as *direct observation* or as *re-enactment*, and fully transcribed.

TAXONOMY

The huge literary and musical material sheltered by the archive of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore "Constantin Brăiloiu" in Bucharest and by the Folklore Archive in Cluj has been subjected to an extensive process of taxonomic evaluation since the end of the 1970s. The preliminary phase dealt with the functional classification on folkloric categories, considering the substantial differences in terms of musical structure. Another factor which had to be decided was the musical-grammatical *level* of the taxonomic process: generally, it was chosen between the *rhythmic* and *melodic* level. The most complete and comprehensive approach belongs to Corneliu Dan Georgescu. His book *Jocul popular românesc. Tipologie muzicală şi corpus de melodii instrumentale* (*Romanian Traditional Dance. Musical Typology and Corpus of Instrumental Melodies*) offers an organising structure for the musical material which includes the *rhythmic* and *architectonic* plans, inserted in what the author calls the "temporal level", as well as the *melodic* plan assigned to the "non-temporal level".

[1] UNESCO Intangible cultural heritage 2008 https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/calus-ritual-00090.
[2] Disc 545 in the Archive of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore, AIEF.
[3] AIEF, mg. 600 a-s.
[4] AIEF, mg. 4455-4459.
[5] Traditional dances (such as *hora, sârba* etc.) performed on Sundays by the young people in the village.

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Corneliu Dan Georgescu's study proposes a *classification model*, with two sets of taxons: the former, a very detailed *classification*, or, more precisely, *ordering* the whole material, thus identifying on all the three plans *categories*, *classes* and *groups*, each with several inferior levels; and the latter, a somehow general *typology*, which identifies typological *families* and *divisions* at the dance type level.

For a better understanding, the sets of taxons are included in an analytic table. The "temporal" level contains the rhythmic and architectural structure. The *rhythmic structure* covers the metric type, the beat type, the beat structure, the order of the beat quality in the first phrase and in the second phase, the number of beats, the bar type, the rhythm type, the number and placement of the syncopated formulae, the subdivision type, the subdivision level, the metrical structure type, the metrical structure, the tempo type.

RHYTHMIC STRUCTURE

1	**Iso/hetero-rhythmic pattern**
2	**Symmetrical/asymmetrical and mixed bar**
3	**Bar combination**
4	**Order of beats within the first phrase**
5	**Order of beats within the second phrase**
6	**Number of the beats**
7	**Genuine or deformed form**
8	**Straight or syncopated rhythmic pattern**
9	**Number of the syncopated formulae**
10	**Emplacement of the syncopated formulae**
11	**Subdivision type**
12	**Level at which the ternary sub-divisions is applied**
13	**Quadratic/ternary and mixed structure**
14	**Combinations of various structure types**
15	**The tempo**

Figure 1. Table summing up Corneliu Dan Georgescu's classification pattern

The *architectural structure* includes: the formal pattern type, the architectonical structure of the first and second phrase, the form type, the formal model, the formal and structural pattern.

ARCHITECTONICAL STRUCTURE

16	**Iso/hetero-morphic pattern**
17	**Inner structure of phrase 1 (cells, motifs, phrase etc.)**
18	**Inner structure of phrase 2 (cells, motifs, phrase etc.)**
19	**Form (fixed or free)**
20	**Linear or non-linear formal pattern**
21	**Formal type AB, ABC, ABCD, ABACAB etc.**
22	**Iterative or progressive principle**

Figure 2. Table summing up Corneliu Dan Georgescu's classification pattern

The "non-temporal" level is defined by the *melodic structure*: the tonal type, the number of tonal centres, the modulating type, the modulating interval, the melodic system type, the position on the scale of the first, second, third, and fourth

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accented sound, the position on the scale of the cadence, the modal type, the modal structure type, the genre.

MELODIC STRUCTURE

23	**Unique or multiple tonal centre**
24	**Number of the tonal centre**
25	**Type of modulating interval**
26	**Modulating interval**
27	**Melodic system (acoustic, pentatonic, modal, tempered, uncertain)**
28	**Accented sound within the first phrase**
29	**Accented sound within the second phrase**
30	**Accented sound within the third phrase**
31	**Accented sound within the fourth phrase**
32	**Cadence of the first phrase**
33	**Modal type**
34	**Melodic scale**
35	**Genre (diatonic, chromatic, enharmonic)**

Figure 3. Table summing up Corneliu Dan Georgescu's classification pattern

Georgescu's pattern follows a total of 35 classification elements, which could offer between 2 and 17 possible situations representing "a chain of classification criteria logically organised according to the properties of the objects studied [...] which could set up the foundation for a genre generative grammar" (Georgescu 1984: 34).

The relevance of the instrumental pieces' form and construction type in defining typological families represents a unique analytical act in the Romanian ethno-musicology. The reliability of this approach urged us to use C.D. Georgescu's pattern as a yardstick for classifying the Căluș melodies. Therefore, the specialists divided into two teams started by applying this pattern to the batch of musical transcriptions sheltered by IEF Archive.

After comparing the results of the two teams, it was obvious the need to create our own classification meant to operatively identify the parameters characteristic to the Căluș repertoire. The analytical scheme inspired by this pattern keeps the three *structural components*: the rhythmic, architectonical and melodic structure. Moreover, Corneliu Dan Georgescu's set of concepts have been adjusted and related to the repertoire's characteristics considering and including three analysing modules.

RHYTHMIC STRUCTURE

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Metre Type	**Bar Type**	**Rhythmic pattern**	**Subdivisions**	**Subdivisions Level**	**Time signature**	**Tempo**
1	Iso-rhythmic pattern	Symmetry	Straight pattern	Binary subdivisions	Crotchet	2/4 time	Slow
2	Hetero-rhythmic pattern	Asymmetry	Syncopated pattern	Ternary subdivisions	Quaver	3/4 time	Moderato
3		Mixed		Other subdivisions		Irregular time	Fast

Figure 4. Rhythmic structure table

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Regarding the metric type (1), there are two possible situations which define a musical piece: the iso-rhythmic pattern, namely the existence of a unique beat, and a hetero-rhythmic pattern, which refers to the presence of two or more beats. The symmetric bar type (2) is based on equal inner beats, while the asymmetric one, on unequal inner beats. The rhythmic pattern (3) represents the presence or absence of syncopated formulae: the straight rhythm has no syncope, in the second case, the syncope dominates the entire piece, and in the third case, the syncope appears with a low frequency.

In the case of the subdivisions (4), the emphasis falls on the musical examples which contain exceptional divisions: ternary, mixt (binary and ternary) appearing at the level of note values, (5) crotchet or quaver. The metric structure (6) is usually binary or ternary, but exceptionally it can be mixt. When talking about the tempo (7) the analytical terms reflect their global metronomic value: slow tempo, under 80 MM, moderate, 80-120 MM, and fast, more than 120 MM.

Before moving on to the next point, we should mention that the author's approach focuses on the architectonical and melodic structure of the two consecutive "phrases". Our approach has a different focus: it does not include the second phrase, but the next different one, *relevant* (divergent) in relation with the first one.

Therefore, the *architectonical structure* is defined by the formal pattern (8), the architectonical structure of the first section (9), the architectonical structure of the next relevant section (10), the formal type (11), and the constructional type (12).

ARCHITECTONICAL STRUCTURE

	8	9	10	11	12
	Morphic pattern Type	**Inner structure of phrase 1**	**Inner structure of divergent phrase**	**Formal type**	**Constructional concept**
1	Iso-morphic pattern	Cells	Cells	Fixed forms	Iterative
2	Hetero-morphic pattern	Cells and motifs	Cells and motifs	Free forms	Progressive
3		Motifs and cells	Motifs and cells	Transition (in-between) forms	Combination of iterative and progressive
4		Motifs	Motifs		

Figure 5. Architectonical structure table

The formal pattern (8) could be isomorphic, when the piece has a constant construction unity (for example, only the motif), and hetero-morphic, when there are more construction units (for example, motif and period), pointed out at the level of the two relevant sections (9, 10). We use the term "cell" to name the sections formed from repeating a unique cell $a\ a\ a\ a\ a$, without melodic variations. A cell-motif structure is a phrase formed *aaab,* while a motif-cell structure is an *abaa* phrase, the construction principle being type 3+1, 1+3. Similarly, a motif

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structure is the combination of the two different cells which form phrases by varied cadential repetition. The formal type (11) could refer to:

1. The fixed forms which are created by the periodical appearance of a formal pattern, type ABCABC. There were also included in this category the short pieces, consisting of one or two, mono- or bipartite phrases, which do not repeat, type A or B.

Walk

Tape recorder 4455 I c
Played by Voicu Gică, accordion
From Stolnici, Argeș county
Recorded by Anca Giurchescu in Bucharest, 05.28.1972
Transcribed by Mihaela Nubert-Chețan, 2014

Figure 6. Fixed form example

2. The free form defines the absence of any constant models, type ABCDACEB.

Walk 2

Tape recorder 4459 I x
Played by Dură Ștefan, violin
From Fălfani, Stolnici, Argeș county
Recorded by Anca Giurchescu, 06.18.1973
Transcribed by Nicolae Teodoreanu, 2014

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Figure 7. Free form example

We must mention that there has been a lot of debate about the binomial structure, of utmost importance, *fixed form – free form*, without having a complete theory of form in traditional dance music. For example, Ghizela Sulițeanu finds three categories when analysing the dance music in Muscel: a) free cell-motif form, based on the unevenness and asymmetry of the hypothetical musical phrases[6]; b) the form free of phrasal structure, with a fixed "carura", but with no structuring regularities; c) fixed form, similar to the previous one from the point of view of its "carura", but which contains the repetition of whole phrases (Sulițeanu 1976: 70-72). On the other hand, Corneliu Dan Georgescu, who dedicated more studies to this topic, will be more detailed in defining the form: the presence or absence of a segment repetition becomes crucial for deciding between the two form types. Another significant aspect refers to the fact that it is often very difficult to unequivocally place a dance piece under one or the other category. Therefore, our approach offers a third variant, the transitory form.

3. The transitory form is basically free but shows a structuring tendency.

Corneliu Dan Georgescu's study, *Contribuție la studiul formei libere* (Contributions to the study of the free form), organizes the free form in relation with the "improvising coefficient". The author finds five types starting from combining some minimal structural elements which define the peasants' repertory, type ABCACB etc., to the free *open* form, characteristic to the fiddlers' improvisation, type ABCDEFG etc. Between these two extremes - which in fact show the redundancy (the former), and the permanent renewal of the musical material (the latter) – there are situations in which the combination of two or three cells is structured by alternating a fixed nucleus (repeated or not) with sections

[6] Ghizelei Sulițeanu's "phrase" is similar to Corneliu Dan Georgescu's and our use of "period", while the common use of the term "phrase" is called "sentence" by Ghizela Sulițeanu.

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whose inner structuring is random. In the following example, the repetition of phrase A, made up of the same motifs, is visible, followed by sections A1 and A2, real "thematic developments", formed by the incidental combination of variations of one of the cells with the insertion of the second. Thus, one can notice the inconstant sections in which there is no visible pattern, but a random combination of the cells which does not form motifs and phrases. These pieces, together with the *fuzzy*-type ones (without clear borders[7]), are included in our pattern under the category of *transitory forms*.

„Straight" *Walk*

Tape recorder 4457 II f
Played by Lăutaru Gh., Stan Gheorghe, violin
From Urluieni, Bârla, Argeș county
Recorded by Anca Giurchescu, 06.18.1973
Transcribed by Raluca Potârniche, 2013

[7] This term is used by Corneliu Dan Georgescu in relation with the traditional dance music types, 1984: 33.

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Figure 8. Transitory form example

The construction type (12) could be identified considering the gradual constant/inconstant relation at the cell and the constitutive motif level: iterative construction based on invariable musical material, progressive construction based on the constant renewal of the musical formulae, and mixed construction which defines the alternative placement of an iterative section with several progressive sections.

„Căluş March" ***Walk***

Tape recorder 4458 II d
Played by Pârvu Florea, violin
From Pădureţi, Lunca Corbului, Argeş county
Recorded by Anca Giurchescu, 06.24.1973
Transcribed by Elena Şulea, 2016

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Figure 9. Progressive construction example

MELODIC STRUCTURE

	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
	Tonal centre	**Mode 1 Phrase**	**Gapped Scales and modes of 1 Phrase**	**Genre 1 Phrase**	**Mode of divergent Phrase**	**Gapped Scales and modes of divergent Phrase**	**Genre of divergent Phrase**
1	Unique tonal centre	Major	Prepentatonic scales	Constant Diatonic	Major	Prepentatonic scales	Constant Diatonic
2	Multiple tonal centre	Minor	Pentatonic scale	Constant Chromatic	Minor	Pentatonic scale	Constant Chromatic

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	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
	Tonal centre	**Mode 1 Phrase**	**Gapped Scales and modes of 1 Phrase**	**Genre 1 Phrase**	**Mode of divergent Phrase**	**Gapped Scales and modes of divergent Phrase**	**Genre of divergent Phrase**
3		Minor-major	Trichords, tetrachords	Oscillation between Diatonic and Chromatic	Minor-major	Trichords Tetrachords	Oscillation between Diatonic and Chromatic
4		Indistinct	Pentachords hexachords	Oscillation between chromatic and diatonic	Indistinct	Pentachords Hexachords	Oscillation between chromatic and diatonic
5			Modes	Combining forms		Modes	Combining form

Figure 10. Melodic structure table

We should mention here that the term "tonal" does not refer to the *tonal system*, instead it shows a tendency to gravitate towards the influence area of a sonorous centre around which the melodic trajectory is woven. The analysis proved the existence of some cases in which there are several sounds which evolves towards the "tonal" status, in fact marking the second relevant section.

The tonal construction (13) can have one tonal centre, when the modal scale is stable, or multiple tonal centres, when the change of the tonal centre leads to modulations. The mode type (14, 17) could be major, minor, or, in exceptional cases, oscillating. We have introduced the term *indistinct* to mark those tunes which lack the third in the tonal centre. The modal structure (15, 18) differs according to the number of steps and modal configuration. The mode (16, 19) could be diatonic or chromatic, considering the presence of augmented second in performance and not in the graphical representation of the sonorous scale. The term *fluctuant* for diatonic and chromatic characterises those exceptional situations when: (3) in a diatonic melody the augmented second is inserted, and (4) in a melody characterised by the augmented second, a diatonic fragment appears. For the latter situation, we used the word *combining* to indicate the ration between the diatonic and chromatic sections.

The analytic code and table

Starting from this table, each piece was given an *analytic code* of 19 figures, placed according to the three sections.

11-110-11	1-44-11	1-142-000

Figure 11. Analytic code example

The next step consisted in *organising* the analytic codes of the 200 melodies. Following the recording inventory numbers in IEF Archive, these codes were introduced in an excel table. Due to the data visualisation and analysing capacity of the program, we sorted them according to the numerical values juxtaposed to the data related to the piece: the interpreters' names, the musical instrument, the place, the researcher's name and the collection year.

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The rhythmic structure of the whole repertoire is remarkably homogeneous. Besides, Corneliu Dan Georgescu believes that the typology of the Romanian traditional dance is a result of the dominant position of the rhythmic system. In the case of the Căluş melodies, due to the series isometry – symmetric tact – binary metric structure – fast tempo this repertoire belongs to the typological family of *Brâu-Sârbă-Horă* dances, to the sub-family Brâu, division "straight Brâu" [without syncopes] (Georgescu 1984: 48-49). Therefore, we considered the rhythmic structure as invariant, having a second role after the architectonical one, thus leading to a redistribution of the three modules, according to the following table.

Nr. or	Nr. arhivă	Cod			Cu	Judet	Instrum	Interpreti	Orig/Loc	înre
11	mg 4455 I a	1-40-11	11-110-11	1-142-000		Argeş	acordeo	Voicu Gică	Bucureşti	
15	mg 4455 II a	1-40-11	11-110-11	1-142-000		Argeş	acordeo	Voicu Gică	Bucureşti	
20	mg 4455 II aa	1-40-11	11-110-11	1-142-000		Argeş	acordeo	Voicu Gică	Bucureşti	
21	mg 4455 II bb	1-40-11	11-110-11	1-142-000		Argeş	acordeo	Voicu Gică	Bucureşti	
22	mg 4455 II cc	1-40-11	11-110-11	1-142-000		Argeş	acordeo	Voicu Gică	Bucureşti	
25	mg 4455 II g	1-40-11	11-110-11	1-142-000		Argeş				
27	mg 4458 I b	1-40-11	11-110-11	1-142-000		Argeş				
38	mg-4457-II-z	1-40-11	11-110-11	1-142-000		Argeş				
54	mg-4456-II-t (PI4)	1-40-11	11-110-11	1-142-000		Argeş	acordeo	Voicu Gică	Pădureţi,	Lunc
55	mg-4456-II-t (PI5)	1-40-11	11-110-11	1-142-000		Argeş	acordeo	Voicu Gică	Pădureţi,	Lunc
52	mg-4456-II-t (PI2)	1-40-11	11-110-11	2-142-142		Argeş	acordeo	Voicu Gică	Pădureţi,	Lunc
13	mg 4455 I c	1-40-11	11-121-11	1-142-000		Argeş	acordeo	Voicu Gică	Bucureşti	
4	mg 4459 I ţ (PI 4)	1-40-11	11-121-11	1-142-154		Argeş	vioară	Dură Ştefan	Stolnici	
5	mg 4459 I ţ (PI 5)	1-40-11	11-121-11	1-142-154		Argeş	vioară	Dură Ştefan	Stolnici	
6	mg 4459 I ţ (PI 6)	1-40-11	11-121-11	1-142-154		Argeş	vioară	Dură Ştefan	Stolnici	
9	mg 4459 I x (PI 3)	1-40-11	11-121-11	1-142-154		Argeş	vioară	Dură Ştefan	Stolnici	
10	mg 4459 I x (PI 4)	1-40-11	11-121-11	1-142-154		Argeş	vioară	Dură Ştefan	Stolnici	

Figure 12. Example of analytic code table

ALTERNATIVE MULTI-LEVEL CLASSIFICATION

The numerical expression thus obtained imposed some highly relevant analysing parameters, which led to organising similar examples under the same category. In order to obtain a valid classification, we considered that the analysing terms should gather pieces with common features. Accordingly, in this phase we selected three coalescing parameters for defining the characteristics of this repertoire: a) *structure*, b) *form* (*architectonical level*), c) *number of tonal centres* (*melodic level*). *Structure* is the first term according to *ordering* the pieces. It entails two possible values: 1) *isomorphism* and 2) *hetero-morphism*, the former referring to the pieces with a constant construction unity, and the latter to those pieces with more construction units, analysed at the level of the two relevant sections.

The second parameter, the *form*, has three types: 1) *fixed form*, 2) *free form*, 3) *transition form*. Moreover, the number of tonal centres is exceptionally important as it entails the tonal-modal "modulation":

1) by transposing the unchanged musical material to the "sub-dominant" (metabola),

2) by changing the modal centre and character, such as from a major mode on **A** to a minor mode on **B**, with new musical formulae.

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This analysis led to a new classification with 12 categories, *infra-classes*, which can be gradually grouped in *sub-classes* and, at a superior level, in *classes*. The special feature of our approach resides in the fact that these are interchangeable, which allows *alternative multilevel classifications*, in any necessary order, making possible even to consider two analysing parameters. For example, *classes* could be represented by the *structure, form* or by the *number of tonal centres,* thus resulting two or three *classes* (also *sub-classes* and *infra-classes*), according to the variant chosen. As the *alternative classification* is seen as the *permutation* of terms, the total number of possible classifications with 3 terms is 6 (the factorial of 3 = 3*2*1), and if we also consider the two-term classification, then we have 6 more variants. The following *classes*, *sub-classes* and *infra-classes* resulted:

MELODIC-ARCHITECTONIC	**ARCHITECTONIC-MELODIC**	**ARCHITECTONIC-MELODIC-ARCHITECTONIC**
Class 1. Unique tonal centre	Class 1. Isomorphic pattern	Class 1. Isomorphic pattern
Class 2. Multiple tonal centre	Class 2. Hetero-morphic pattern	Class 2. Hetero-morphic pattern
Subclass 1. Isomorphic pattern	Subclass 1. Fixed forms	Subclass 1. Unique tonal
Subclass 2. Hetero-morphic pattern	Subclass 2. Free forms	Subclass 2. Multiple tonal centre
Infraclass 1. Fixed forms	Subclass 3. 'Twixt (in-between forms)	Infraclass 1. Fixed forms
Infraclass 2. Free forms	Infraclass 1. Unique tonal centre	Infraclass 2. Free forms
Infraclass 3. 'Twixt (in-between forms)	Infraclass 2. Multiple tonal centre	Infraclass 3. 'Twixt (in-between forms)
Class 1. Unique tonal centre	Class1. Fixed forms	Class 1. Fixed forms
Class 2. Multiple tonal centre	Class 2. Free forms	Class 2. Free forms
Subclass 1. Fixed forms	Class 3. Transition (in-between) forms	Class 3. 'Twixt (in-between forms)
Subclass 2. Free forms	Subclass1. Isomorphic pattern	Subclass 1. Unique tonal centre
Subclass 3. 'Twixt (in-between forms)	Subclass 2. Heteromorphic pattern	Subclass 2. Multiple tonal centre
Infraclass 1. Isomorphic pattern	Infraclass 1. Unique tonal centre	Infraclass 1. Isomorphic pattern
Infraclass 2. Heteromorphic pattern	Infraclass 2. Multiple tonal centre	Infraclass 2. Heteromorphic pattern

Figure 13. Alternative multi-level classification table.

These classes, sub-classes and infra-classes work as a logic "chain" consisting of three modules, interchangeable "links". For example: Class 1. Unique tonal-centre – Sub-class 1. Isomorphic structure – Infra-class 1. Fixed form, or Class 1. Isomorphic structure – Sub-class 1. Fixed form – Infra-class 1. Unique tonal centre etc.

We consider that the analytical potential of the *alternative multi-level classification* is significant in highlighting the system of preferential relations created between architectonic and melodic structures at the level of the entire

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repertoire. Moreover, multiple analytic approaches are possible, thus pointing out individual stylistic particularities, mechanisms of architectonic variations, the features of the Căluş melodies in relation with the entire repertoire of the Romanian traditional dance etc.

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FOLK SONGS OF MONTENEGRO – FROM THE FIRST FIELD RECORDINGS OF MIODRAG A. VASILJEVIĆ TO PUBLISHED COLLECTIONS

IVANA DROBNI, ALEKSANDRA MILETIĆ

ABSTRACT

The goal of this work is to introduce the general public to the enthusiasm, dedication and engagement of Miodrag A. Vasiljević (1903-1963), Serbia's most renowned ethnomusicologist and music pedagogue, to melographical work. His melographic journey through the lands of Montenegro has been reconstructed from, among relevant sources, documents from the Miodrag A. Vasiljević Archive. A survey of the numerous collections of recorded folk songs has led to an in-depth look at the ethnomusicological collection Folk Songs of Montenegro in the Published Melographic Records of Miodrag A. Vasiljević, published by the Montenegro Academy of Science and Art and the Montenegro Music Centre in 2019. Vasiljević had, through melographic records, notes on folk singers, and studies, worked creatively by offering not only a written record, but also active communication across a great distance, thanks to the layered nature and levels of meaning in his approach to ethnomusicological material. His familiarisation with the formula of folk songs and with the creative functioning of folk singers is transmitted through written material and studies, and he searched for and found ways to rework a layered musical whole and operationalise it for a practical music-pedagogical application. The work also contains a look at this intriguing link between ethnomusicology and pedagogy which, through the creative work of one man, blazed a trail for both sciences in Serbia. At the same time, this connection is what makes Vasiljević unique as an ethnomusicologist and a music pedagogue, and that dialectic makes his legacy priceless.

Keywords: Folk Song, Montenegro, M.A. Vasiljević, Ethnomusicology, Music Pedagogy.

SNAPSHOTS OF THE LIFE OF A MELOGRAPHER IN THE LANDS OF MONTENEGRO

Miodrag A. Vasiljević (1903-1963), Serbia's most renowned ethnomusicologist and music pedagogue, was born in the village of Zakuta to a family of teachers. He began practising music as a high schooler, in the Music Society in Kruševac. He began his musical studies in Prague, and finished them in Belgrade in the class of Dr. Miloje Manojlović. His first professional position was in Skoplje in 1931, where he taught sheet singing in the Men and Women High Schools and in the Skoplje music school.

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At the invitation of composer and his former professor Kosta Manojlović (1890-1949), in 1937 he moved to the Music School as part of the Music Academy in Belgrade, and shortly thereafter to the Music Academy, where he remained until his passing in 1963. In addition to his activities at the Teaching Department (now the Department of Solfeggio and Music Pedagogy), Vasiljević was the founder and first head of the Department of Ethnomusicology and one of the founders of the Union of Yugoslav Folklorists.

Figure 1 – Miodrag A. Vasiljević (1903–1963)

Vasiljević had begun to work in melography at a young age. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, having clearly noticed the unique qualities of the folklore in the region, he began creating ethnomusicological studies that did not rely on the then-modern European analytical style. The first complete collection of ethnomusicological recordings from then-Macedonia, which were collected during official trips there from 1931 to 1937, was lost in the bombing of Belgrade on the 6th of April 1941. Fortunately, Vasiljević was able to reconstruct much of this material following the Second World War.

The first songs from Montenegro and Sandžak were recorded by Vasiljević while on official business in Skoplje[1], from teacher Rista Marjanović, born in Pljevlja, and his wife Jelena. In the Foreword to the Sandžak collection, he noted that he had been deeply intrigued by the collected material, and he felt compelled to visit Sandžak in 1934 and 1935 (Vasiljević, 1953). Unfortunately, this material, as well as the complete material from Macedonia, was burned down in the April 6 bombing of Belgrade in 1941. Following the end of World War 2, Vasiljević resumed his melographic work. In 1946 he travelled to the Kosmet (Kosovo and Metohija), and then to Sandžak the following year. He made his first post-war

[1] From 1931 to 1937.

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melographic expeditions with only notebooks, and no magnetic tape recorder, visiting villages and hamlets on foot, on horseback or by carriage, "just as Kuhać and Kuba did in the 19th century" (Đurić-Klajn 1965, IX).

Vasiljević would set off on his trips thoroughly prepared. This entailed examining available historical and geographical information, complemented by "verbal descriptions from people familiar with the conditions in the area he was currently in" (Jerkov 2006, 67), however in spite of that it was difficult to predict if singers would be willing to cooperate. The most credible account of his life in the field and the skill with which he was able to approach singers is provided by his companion in life, Ana Vasiljević.[2] In her memoirs of her husband, preserved in the Miodrag A. Vasiljević Archive[3], she writes: "Everything the people have invented and created, he loved. He was interested in peasant huts and hamlets, the creation of milk products, the swarming of bees, old ladies sitting at the loom, lumberjacks in the woods... He had his own unique way of winning them over to his work... Himself a good singer, he was always the first to sing a song from those parts and so encourage singers to tell him their texts or to sing... He did not find it difficult to hike, with a rucksack on his back and a bag full of music sheets, over the tallest of mountains".[4] At one point, Ana and Miodrag found themselves travelling between villages by two-wheel carriage. While stopped to rest, Ana records that "The peasant had us disembark, watered his horse, put a bucket of feed around his neck, and we went to the inn to rest and get a drink. The carriage driver shared a cup of 'Ružica' with the innkeeper and turned his cart around and left, leaving us with strangers in a strange land. But Milo's ability to establish a rapport with the peasants was impeccable. He called over the hostess who was at the bar, and a pretty peasant girl (a cousin of the host's), made everyone's drink orders, and said: 'well today is my wife's birthday, so I'll pay'. He began to sing, and rapport was established".[5]

Ana Vasiljević notes that in the summer of 1949 he "continued his field work and simultaneously prepared material for *Jednoglasni solfeđo*...[6] He writes constantly. Anywhere and everywhere. He writes on the train, in the village houses where he spends the night when he's in the field, in the room at the inn, on the ship, in the hills and valleys whenever he sits down to rest from a long walk, and wherever else he finds a quiet moment to work".

And so, two days after arriving in Montenegro, after a five day journey through Rijeka, Split and Dubrovnik, Vasiljević writes in a later dated August 19 1949 that "I have already rested from the journey and started, at the crack of dawn, working on the textbook Solfeggio. I was so naive to think that I could work on it on

[2] Ana Vasiljević (1905-1986, née Sirovatka) frequently accompanied Miodraga in the field and helped him with his note-taking. In the collection *Folk Melodies from Sandžak* it is noted that she was the one who enabled "contact with the female Muslim world and helped collect texts" (Vasiljević 1953, IX).

[3] The Miodrag A. Vasiljević Archive which preserves original documents, manuscripts, melographical records, correspondence with colleagues and partners, notes from teaching, etc. is in the family's possession.

[4] Miodrag A. Vasiljević Archive F2, 10g, 10h, 10i.

[5] Miodrag A. Vasiljević Archive F2, 10s.

[6] *One-Voice Sofeggio.*

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the boat. The boat however turned out to be so crowded that I spent more time on my feet... than seated. There was no way I could write these past two days".

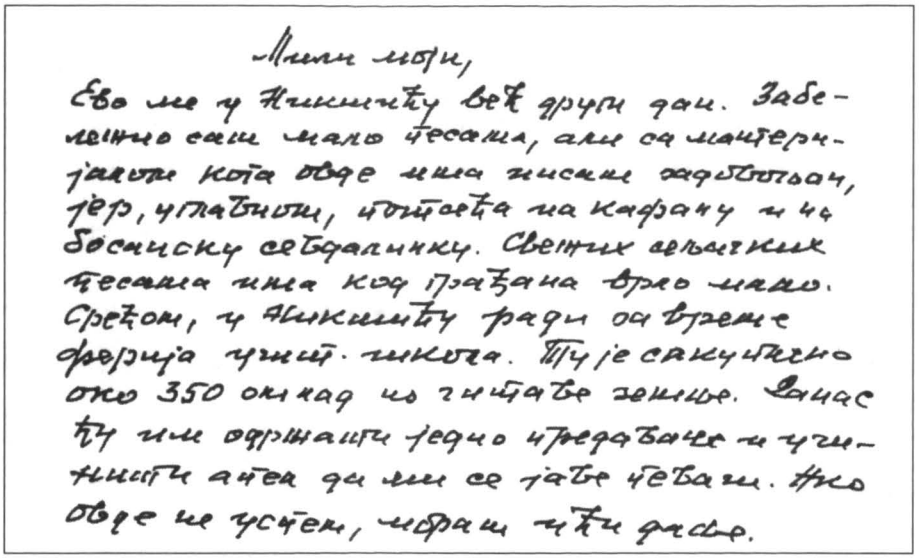

Figure 2 – Excerpt of the letter from Nikšić, 25.08.1949

The next day Vasiljević would travel from Podgorica to Cetinje to meet with the minister for education, and continues on to Nikšić. He would write from this town on the 25th of August, stating that he was not overly satisfied with the melographic material collected thus far, but that he was planning to hold a lecture at the Teaching School, which had been host to over 350 teachers from across Yugoslavia during the summer break, and that he was hoping to entertain some singers among them.

After Nikšić, Vasiljević travelled to Pljevlje where, during his ten days spent there, he did not write a single letter. The reason for this is that he could contact his family by phone, and had an abundance of work to do, both in melography and putting together notes. In his next letter from Bijelo Polje, dated September 17 (Figure 3), he writes that he was "very much spoilt by Pljevlje and those telephone calls", and he continues excitedly that he has found "a folkloric bounty". In his first three days in Bijelo Polje he collected 126 songs, which brought the total number up to 400.

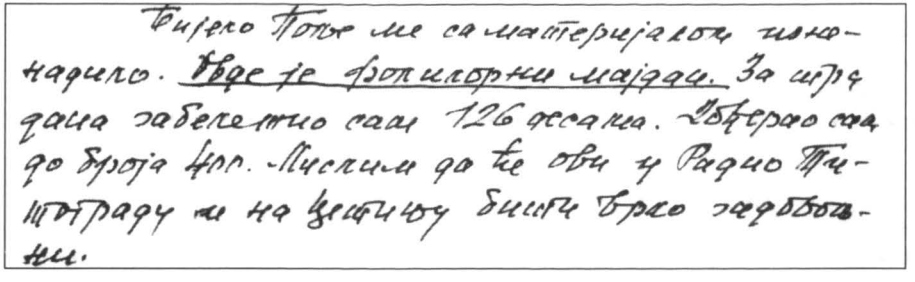

Figure 3 – Excerpt of the letter from Bijelo Polje, 17.09.1949

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In his next letter from Berane, he informs the family of "his situation" regarding melography, and notes that it is going excellently, seeing as he had written down 172 melodies in Bijelo Polje, "quite unlike any place thus far".

At that time, in the summer of 1949, in the month he'd spent in Montenegro, Vasiljević had collected 434 folk songs, and stated, not hiding his excitement, that this had exceeded his expectations, considering his unfamiliarity with the area.

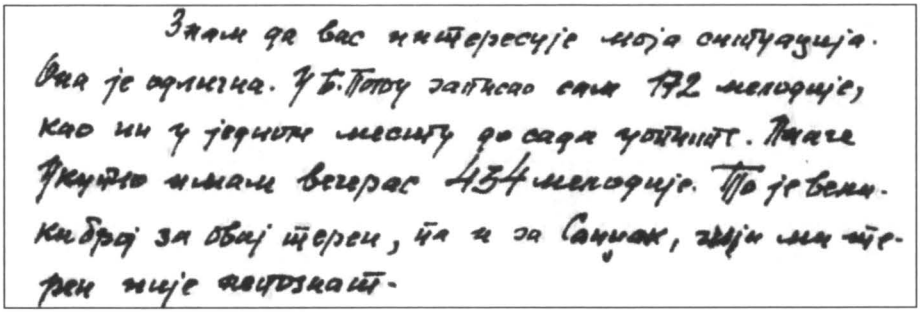

Figure 4 – Ivangrad (Berane), 20.09.1949

How preoccupied Vasiljević was with his work, and what he was thinking about, is illustrated by the continuation of this letter, where he states that he had not yet decided where he would go from there, whether to Gusinje or Konavlje, and that that decision would also govern the start of his work on writing entries for the Music Encyclopaedia, which he had been commissioned to do by the Zagreb Academy of Sciences and Arts (Figure 5). As a reminder, he was simultaneously working on *One-Voice Solfeggio*.

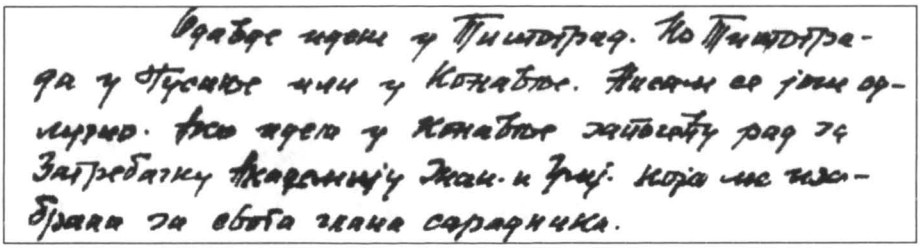

Figure 5 – Ivangrad, 20.09.1949

In Ana Vasiljević's memoirs it is noted that he wrote a letter from Žabljak which read "Tonight I finished *One-Voice Solfeggio*. I wrote part of it on the ship from Budva to Bar and I will soon be returning with a decent amount of Montenegrin songs and the completed Solfeggio. I hope to hand the manuscripts over to Prosveta for print".

One-Voice Solfeggio was published the next year by Prosveta, and the Montenegro collection was updated with new material and remained in the editing phase until 1959. During this time Vasiljević visited the province of Kruševac including Kopaonik, and the collections *Folk Melodies from Sandžak* (1953) and

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Folk Melodies from the Leskovac Region (1960) were published. According to his wife's memoirs, he eagerly awaited the publication of the songs from Montenegro. Unfortunately, "... the manuscript had remained with Prosveta for around a year. It was then transferred to a Montenegrin publishing company, then finally to the SAN Institute of Musicology which made the decision to publish in June of 1963, by which time he already had a severe heart condition, and his untimely death tore him away from his great wishes and ambitions, never to see the publishing of *Montenegro*".

THE COLLECTED MELODIES OF MONTENEGRO – THE LAST PUBLISHED VASILJEVIĆ MANUSCRIPTS

The ethnomusicological collection *Folk Songs of Montenegro in the Published Melographic Records of Miodrag A. Vasiljević,* published by the Montenegro Academy of Sciences and Arts and the Music Centre of Montenegro (2019) represents a comprehensive collection of Vasiljević's melographic records from the area of Montenegro and songs sung by Montenegrin people living outside of Montenegro. In the previous portion of this essay it has been noted that these records had thus far been published in two books – *Folk Melodies from Sandžak* from 1953 and *Folk Melodies of Montenegro*, published two years after Vasiljević's death, in 1965. In addition to the 568 pieces from *Folk Melodies of Montenegro*, this collection also includes 229 pieces from *Folk Melodies from Sandžak*, written down in Plevlje and Bijelo Polje and the surrounding villages, for a total of 797 folk songs from the area of Montenegro and songs recorded as sung by Montenegrin people living outside of their homeland.

The collection comprises 708 pages and contains an exceptionally systematic and comprehensive foreword by co-author Sanja Radinović (7-18), following which songs are organised according to a geographical criterion, from north to south. Songs from the mountains and valleys are organised according to the settlements where they were recorded – Pljevlja, Bijelo Polje, Berane, Rožaje, Gusinje, Andrijevica, Kolašin, Sinjajevina and Durmitor (37-320). Songs from the central region – Nikšić, Danilovgrad, Podgorica and Cetinje (321-388). Songs from the coastal region – Boka Kotorska, Paštrovići, Bar and Ulcinj (389-534). The regional songs are followed by Partisan and patriotic songs and songs regarding the rebuilding of the homeland following the Second World War (535-554), and finally songs from two ethnic Montenegrin settlements outside of the territory of Montenegro – Petrovo Selo near Kladovo in Serbia, and Peroj near Pula in Croatia (555-576). The recorded songs are followed by a dictionary of Turkish loanwords and other less well known folk expressions, arranged by Mirjana Mima Rilak (577-599). Following this, pages from 601 onward contain seven indices: order of songs in the collection, alphabetical index, index of pieces organised according to original publication, index according to poetic metre, index by initialis, index by genre and index of singers.

With his many music sheets of folk songs from the area of Montenegro, published in the first Montenegro collection in 1965, Miodrag A. Vasiljević lays

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down strict criteria for every previous and subsequent interpretation of the region's musical tradition. By shedding light on key moments from Vasiljević's experiences in the field at the beginning of this essay, we can see that his melographic work began in 1948 when he visited Podgorica and Nikšić and environs, and Krivošije and Boka Kotorska, then continued in 1951 when he again visited Boka and Kolašin, and in 1952 the Montenegrin settlement of Peroj in Istria. In 1954 he visited Andrijevica, Murino, Plav and Gusinje, and in 1959 he visited Petrovo Selo near Kladovo in Serbia.

Vasiljević broke down the myth that the folk musical heritage of the Montenegrin people boiled down to small melodies accompanied by gusle, proving that Montenegro has been home to a great lyrical and musical wealth for centuries. He also believed that in Montenegrin songs the lyrics held pride of place over the melody, and that the verse underwent decompositions and inversions that could not be found anywhere else at that time, which led him to, alongside the *Folk Melodies of Montenegro*, prepare a study on the metre of Montenegrin verse which, sadly, was not published due to Vasiljević's sudden passing, and which is still awaiting interpretation. Traces of this study can be found in Vasiljević's notes even before the book *Folk Melodies of Montenegro* and in the collections *Yugoslav Music Folklore II – Folk Melodies Sung in Macedonia*, *Folk Melodies from Sandžak* and *Folk Melodies from the Leskovac Region*, where he uses specific symbols to mark the form of melodies with highlights of lyrical metre and the initial and cadence tones of specific motif phrases.

Example of Vasiljević's nomenclature,
Folk Songs of Montenegro in the Published Melographic records

46 RASTI BOLJE, MOJ ZELENI BORE

Rasti bolje, moj zeleni bore,
da se penjem tebi pod vrhove,
da pregledam po Bosni gradove.
Sve bih grade za dva grada dala,
za Trebinje i za Nevesinje.

Ja kakvi su nevesinjski momci,
sve bih momke za dva momka dala,
za Milana i za Milovana!
Milovana ja bih milovala,
a Milana drugarici dala.

Pjesma iz Polimlja
Pjevao Risto Marjanović, 1932. godine
Tekst zabilježio Vasilije Marjanović
(S 48a)

Legend: A. Melodic-poetic part; (10) – decasyllable (verse); 2-1 – initial and final tone of melodic-poetic part; ^{v} – variation of the melodic-poetic part

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The attentive and systematic eye of this publication's editor did not miss this, and so, in addition to the primary, geographical criterion for the classification of songs, a secondary criterion for classification was verse metre, with the exception of songs from Paštrovići which have been organised according to the process of the custom (Radinovićs 2019, 15).

The collection *Folk Songs of Montenegro in the Published Melographic records* "is not a 'simple sum' of two previously published works, but an organic whole which speaks in a new and more communicative way" (Radinović 2019, 10). Each of Miodrag A. Vasiljević's texts speaks volumes thanks to the complexity and layers of meaning in their approach to ethnomusicological material, but the value of the effort invested to make this publication live, to enable this communication to see the light of day, is indisputable.

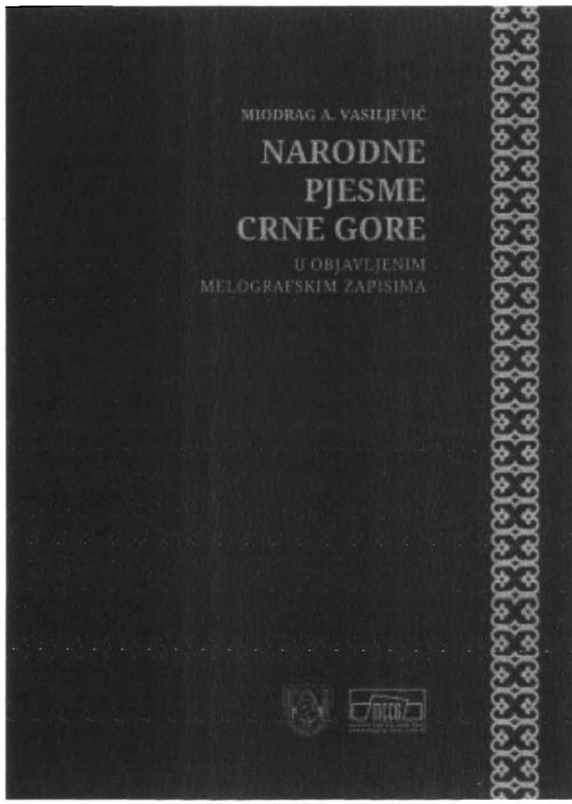

Figure 6 – Miodrag A. Vasiljević
Folk Songs of Montenegro in the Published Melographic Records (2019)

The indices in the book were prepared with great care, knowledge and dedication to all aspects of the analysis: Order of Songs in Collection, Alphabetical Index, Index by Order in Original Publication, Index by Poetic Metre, Index by Initials, Index by Genre and Index of Singers. If we recall how much Miodrag A. Vasiljević loved and appreciated his singers, then we can take this as one of

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many examples of this being recognised by the editors, and so the Index of Singers is not just a means of finding information (though this cannot be said of the other indices either), but also an image of the people of that time and region, the bearers of poetic legacy. In this and many other ways, the editors have enabled precisely the aforementioned communication between Vasiljević and the reader, even across this distance. Vasiljević took part in the creation of the melographic records, notes on singers, and studies, not only by providing a written record, but also by singing along with the singers, admiring them as men of the people and preserving their memory with love and care. Simultaneously, he invests boundless energy and knowledge to preserve the melodies and pass them on, and searches for and finds ways to 'process' the complex musical whole and utilise it for a practical music-pedagogical purpose.

The book *Folk Songs of Montenegro in the Published Melographic records of Miodrag A. Vasiljević* (Figure 6) is of exceptional value for the promotion of the folk tradition and culture of Montenegro, and all those who have participated in its creation have risen to meet the challenges placed before them by the monumental importance of this publication.

Credit for the recognition of the importance of Miodrag A. Vasiljević's multi-faceted profile and the preservation of his legacy dedicated to Montenegro is owed to composer and valued CANU member Žarko Mirković, and Dr. Ivana Drobni, while Dr. Sanja Radinović organised the material of this publication into a modern ethnomusicological statement. If one adds to this the exceptional technical qualities of the publication, the Dictionary of Turkish Expressions, and indices which add a new qualitative dimension to the study, it must be noted that this publication is of immense value in both form and content.

CONCLUSION

The connection to the authentic folk musical tradition of our people has marked Vasiljević since his early childhood, and he would remain faithful to this influence in everything he did in his life. Upon finishing education in 1931, when he was, in line with his own wishes, sent to his first workplace in Skoplje, he began doing what he would dedicate his life to collecting the songs and music of the common people, starting from the most remote regions. Every moment of free time, every summer break, he used to travel in the field. Led by his childhood love towards "the man of the people", Vasiljević would, through countless field expeditions, search for and find that which, through song, music and humanity, represented expressions of universal values.

He dug down into the common, universal formulae for musical expressions among the peoples of our region, then followed the expression of those formulae according to the specificities of individual ethno-geographical areas. The things he learned there were applied to his pedagogical work. Having reached the foundational tonal formula, then its metric-rhythmic expressions and finally its formal expressions, Vasiljević naturally and spontaneously wove archetypal formulae of musical function into pedagogy. The basic music-pedagogical

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foundations laid down by Miodrag A. Vasiljević, which, with some modifications and updates are still current today, originate from an understanding of folk musical creativity and the creative mechanism of the folk singer which rests on the meaning of the initials in the memorisation of melodies, the creative impulse derived from the deep connection between spoken and musical rhythm, the basic musical formula the folk tonality rests upon with all of its variants, and the metric-rhythmic, and therefore formal, organisation of folk melodies, which Vasiljević understood and experienced in all of his exploration and discovery, and which he supported with an understanding of folk instruments and the way they are played.

On this link between ethnomusicology and music pedagogy rests the unique and inimitable quality of Vasiljević as a music pedagogue, one reinforces the other, and that dialectic creates the immeasurable value of Vasiljević's legacy, regardless of which part of the material is being covered. He connected the past, present and future, "weaving together" the musical material of the region through universal shared values, articulating the specificities of each region through their own bespoke collections, and publishing in parallel with each a study connected to a specific aspect or component of the folk musical expression. The aforementioned studies represent material that is likewise immensely valuable and still awaits an adequate ethnomusicological appraisal, hence its cautious mention. This is another reason why the release of this publication is immensely valuable, as the repeated, more complete, more precise and more suitable republishing of Montenegrin folk songs will also serve as a reminder that Vasiljević's study on lyrical metre that was meant to accompany the release of the collection *Folk Songs of Montenegro* in 1963 still awaits interpretation.

Miodrag A. Vasiljević established, through his ethnomusicological collections and their accompanying studies of rhythm, tonality, classification of folk songs and terminology, the relationship of musicality, both as a universal phenomenon and a characteristic national musicality, with the varieties of music found in specific ethnographic areas, and operationalised these learnings into methodological approaches to the teaching of music literacy. Therefore, every effort put into preserving Vasiljević's ethnomusicological legacy also represents a struggle for a national good, and a struggle for the preservation and propagation of the most notable examples of the musical heritage for future generations.

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BEE DISEASES, TREATMENTS, AND PREVENTION IN THE FOLKLORE OF THE ORDU-GIRESUN REGION IN TÜRKIYE

MEHMET KARASU, ESRA ÇELİK, AŞKIN YAŞAR

ABSTRACT

The Eastern Black Sea Region, which has a very important position in honeybee breeding, stands out with its valuable nectar and pollen resources for bees, thanks to its rich plant species. In this region, beekeeping is carried out intensively and traditional knowledge is also used. This research aimed to reveal the folkloric data related to bee diseases, their treatments, and prevention from the disease in Ordu-Giresun Region, evaluate the obtained data with rational data, and contribute to veterinary medicine folklore, in particular beekeeping. The study material consisted of the data obtained from 39 volunteers, who were determined to have good knowledge about beekeeping in Ordu-Giresun Region, between 26 August 2017 and 20 September 2018. The data obtained from the participants were specified in the results section as a superscript at the end of each data. The information compiled using the information compilation form was analyzed under "*bee diseases, treatments and prevention*" and "*hive disinfection and bee immunity*". The study determined that the data obtained on six different bee diseases and food poisoning in bees were generally compatible with the literature on the subject. As a result, it can be stated that the folkloric medicine based on experience regarding bee diseases, treatments, and protection from diseases continues to be practiced today in Ordu-Giresun Region, but the source persons could not provide or have no knowledge about viral diseases of bees and poisoning caused by pesticides; however, folkloric methods applied in beekeeping are sensible and rational in the light of scientific data.

Keywords: Bee, Folklore, Ordu-Giresun Region, Türkiye.

INTRODUCTION

About 3/4 of the plant species known to be used by bees worldwide grow in Anatolia. Especially in the Eastern Black Sea Region of Türkiye, the plant species that bees can benefit from as a source of nectar and pollen are quite rich. White clover (*Trifolium repens*), cherry laurel (*Prunus laurocerasus*), dandelion (*Taraxacum officinale*), veronica prostrata (*Asteraceae absinthium*), sage (*Salvia officinalis*), and wild mustard (*Sinapis arvensis*) plants are essential sources of pollen in the region (Deveci *et al.*, 2015: 6). The Eastern Black Sea Region also has significant potential in the number of hives and

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honey production (Kuvancı *et al.*, 2017: 54) (Figure 1). While the number of beekeeping establishments (breeders) of 81,000 in Türkiye is 3021 in Ordu, it is 1851 in Giresun. While the number of active hives is 579,367 in Ordu, it is 122,021 in Giresun (TOB, 2021).

Figure 1: Map showing the regions studied in the Black Sea. Painted areas show the Black Sea region

Information on bee diseases is based on ancient times (Marcus Tarentius Varro, 1st century BC, Rome) (Erk, 1966: 40). According to Kurt (2008: 1), in bees, five bacterial, 11 viral, four Protozoal, six Varroa, six Lepidoptera, four fungal and yeast-related diseases and small hive beetle (*Aethina tumida*), bee lice (*Braula coeca*), and trachea mite (*Acarapis woodi*) can be seen. In addition, diseases caused by care and feeding and pesticide poisoning are reported (İnal and Güçlü, 1998: 72-78). Honeybee pests and diseases negatively affect the development of beekeeping in our country (Şahinler and Gül, 2005: 27). It is a known fact by today's breeders that some factors cause damage by settling in the honeycomb and hive (İnal and Güçlü, 1998: 48).

It is known that breeders seek alternative methods for bee diseases and preventive treatment to eliminate the problems they encounter in beekeeping; thus, folklorically used plants and homoeopathic medicines are on the agenda (Taçbaş and Baydan, 2018: 122). Although technical beekeeping principles are known in the Eastern Black Sea Region, it is reported that the traditional habits of benefiting from experience continue (Kuvancı *et al.*, 2017: 54).

This research aimed to reveal the folkloric data related to bee diseases, their treatments, and prevention from the disease in Ordu-Giresun Region, evaluate the obtained data with rational data, and contribute to veterinary medicine folklore, in particular beekeeping.

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MATERIALS AND METHODS

Questionnaire Design, Data Collection, and Analysis

The study material consisted of the data obtained from face-to-face interviews with 39 volunteer participants known to have good folkloric knowledge levels related to beekeeping from the settlements where intensive beekeeping activities were carried out in Ordu-Giresun Region between 26 August 2017 and 20 September 2018.

During the face-to-face interviews, the participants were informed about the study, and their permission was obtained. Written and/or visual data were collected by asking 15 questions through the information compilation form. Finally, the findings were evaluated with the "content analysis" method.

A code number was used for each participant. These code numbers (P1, P2, ..., P39) used in the representation of the participants were presented in detail in the participants' section and were numbered as superscripts at the end of each data in the findings section.

Thesis Information and Research Knowledge: This work was supported by Selçuk University Scientific Research Projects (SÜBAP) with project number 17202031. The study was prepared by making use of the first-name writer's PhD Thesis, titled "Research on Folk Veterinary Medicine in Ordu-Giresun Region".

Ethical Approval: Ethics Committee Approval was obtained with the date of 21.09.2016 and the number 17202031, following the application made to the Selçuk University Faculty of Veterinary Ethics Committee during the project phase.

RESULTS: BEE DISEASES, TREATMENTS, AND PREVENTION

The information compiled using the information compilation form in the folklore of the Ordu-Giresun region was analyzed under the headings of "*bee diseases*" and "*hive disinfection and bee immunity*". Among bee diseases, ten were related to American foulbrood (*Paenibacillus larvae*), 31 to Varroatosis (*Varroa destructor*), one to Nosemosis (*Nosema apis*), eight to Butterfly (*Galleria mellonella L.*) disease, three to lime disease (*Ascosphaera apis*), six to bee diarrhoea, and 60 in total, including one to food poisoning in bees. Also, data were collected from six different participants on hive disinfection and bee immunity.

Bacterial Diseases of Bees

American Foulbrood (Paenibacillus larvae)

Folkloric statements:

American Foulbrood began to be seen in the region after 1990[1] along with modern hives.[2,3] This disease occurs when the sick and weak colonies take honey from other hives (robbing) and may cause the hives to die out.[1] While the bee is producing wax, the temperature and humidity inside the hive increase, which can

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cause American foulbrood. In order to maintain the humidity-temperature balance, the hive should be ventilated and controlled.[2,3] It is also reported that the fig, which grows in the region and rots prematurely due to humidity, causes disease by being transported to the hive with the bees, undergoing fermentation, and sticking to the beeswax.[3]

Although it is not common in the region, factors such as the bees not getting cold, the number of bees in the hive, and the balance of the temperature in the hive are essential for the preventing of this disease.[4,5]

In the struggle, the temperature inside the hive is kept in balance and the rotting of the immature bees is prevented. This method is popularly known as "*keeping the hive tight*". Veterinary drugs are also used.[6,7] In order to prevent this disease, the hive is cleaned and when the bee is taken to a new hive, the cluster is taken as a bee.[8] Frames in contaminated hives are destroyed.[1] Combs are used according to the density of the bees in the hive and these frames are placed at close intervals.[4,5]

Parasitic Diseases of Bees

Bee Lice Disease (Varroatosis)

Folkloric statements:

In recent years, the most common bee lice disease has been seen in bees in the region.[9] This disease is also known as "*arı sakkısı*" or "*arı sakırtlağı*" among the people.[10-12] Especially with migratory beekeeping, the bees bringing bee lice from different regions and the swarm carrying the disease agent over Europe are essential factors in the transmission of the disease.[9] It is reported that bee lice disease started to appear in the region after the cultivation of cannabis plants was banned.[13] It is reported that 80% of the agricultural lands are cornfields and especially the planting of cannabis plants in the cornfields is one of the most important reasons why bee lice are not seen much in Giresun. Also, it is reported that when the bee is placed on a blooming cannabis plant, the louse on the bee is poisoned and leaves the bee.[14]

It is reported that in the struggle, the cone of the acorn tree (*Quercus Ithaburensis*) (mushroom),[15,16] tobacco in Görele, tinder fungus found in chestnut trees,[17] or sacks made of cannabis (hemp) plant are burned and the fume is given to the hive with a blower. It is reported that in the past, dry spraying (DDT) was used in beehive spraying, and in recent years, wet spraying was used.[18] Butter is applied to the entrance and exit points of the log hives (Figures 2, 3) so that the bees stick to the butter when the bees enter and leave the hive.[19-21] Twenty minutes after incense is made in the hive with corncob fume, the bee louse that is affected by the fume falls and sticks to the butter applied to the floor.[22,23] It is also reported that naphthalene was used in the hive for some periods to kill the bee lice and prevent other insects from harming the bee, but this practice was abandoned over time as it harmed the bee and the hive.[24] If bee lice are seen in the queen, the lice are removed from the queen bee with the help of a thin hazelnut stick on which honey is applied.[14]

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Figure 2: The log hive (witch-hazel).[25] A log hive made of witch-hazel, prominent in the folklore of the region

Figure 3: The log hive (Cranberry Tree).[26] A log hive is frequently used in beekeeping in the region and is an important source of income for the people of the region

In addition, in struggle, a mixture of grape root and bay leaf juice is used,[4] plane tree leaves are used in the hives,[27] bee lice are removed with the smell and secretion of juniper tree kindling placed on the bottom and top of the hive, and pesticides used on apple trees are effective in struggling bee lice.[1] In Alucra, it is reported that the water of thyme is applied in the form of drops to the beehives where the disease is seen since the smell of thyme disturbs the bee lice.[9]

In order to protect the hive from bee lice disease, the hive is cleaned with a blowtorch two or three times a year.[28] It is essential to care for and clean the hive against this disease and to ensure the temperature balance.[29] It is reported that the temperature inside the hive should be kept at a certain level and the number of bees is important for this,[10] and when the bee colony is strong and crowded, the bee lice cannot stand the smell and heat and go away.[30]

Bee Cancer (Nosemosis; Nosema apis)

Folkloric statements:

It is a disease seen in regional beekeeping for some years. It shows symptoms of swelling in the intestines of the bee. As a result, the bee that flies out of the hive cannot return to the hive. With this disease, the number of bees in the hive drops significantly and this decrease begins to show itself within a week. Thyme and thyme oil are used in the treatment.[31]

Bee Pests

Butterfly (Wax Moth) Disease (Galleria mellonella L.)

Folkloric statements:

The wax moth disease, known as the butterfly moth eating the wax made by the bee, and which is seen periodically, is also called "*üskelek*".[32]

The bees carry the flower pollen and the butterfly eggs that the butterflies leave on the pollen to the hive.[33] Butterflies may also lay eggs in the frame around or inside the pollen hive (Figure 4). Butterfly eggs are mixed with honey in the hive with beeswax and the wax moth can feed here and pierce the bee wax.[34]

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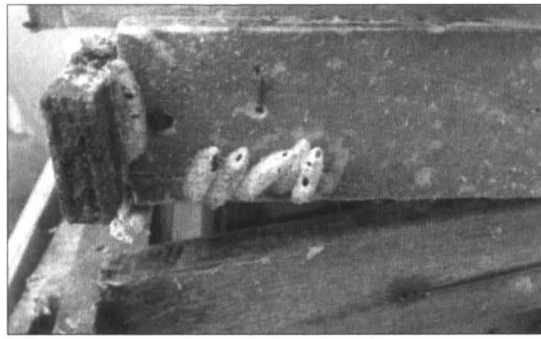

Figure 4: The Moth Disease in the Hive.[35] Wax moth disease seen periodically in the hive

The sharp smell and secretion that the wet walnut tree leaves (Figure 5) put on the bottom of the hive during the struggle prevent it from causing diseases by removing the moth from the wax and the hive.[36] In Şebinkarahisar, honey that is thought to be contaminated with butterfly eggs is taken out of the hive and kept in the deep freezer section of the refrigerator for 48 hours, and the butterfly eggs are killed during this time.[37] Burning the diseased honeycombs is also seen as a solution.[13]

Figure 5: Applying Walnut Leaf to Moth.[35] A walnut leaf is placed on the base of the hive while it is wet, in order to keep the moth away

It is reported that as a protective measure, the honeycombs are placed on top of each other to prevent the increase in temperature, thus preventing feeding the moth and damaging the wax.[34] It is also important to remove the honey from the hive in a timely manner so that the hive does not get wax moth disease.[36]

Mycotic Diseases of Bees

Lime Disease (Ascosphaera apis)

Folkloric statements:

Lime disease has started to be seen in recent years and is usually seen in immature bees. Malnutrition of young bees and the cold and dampness of the hive play a role in the formation of this disease.[8] It is seen in hives grown in

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humid regions with a low bee population.[5] In lime disease, mould growth occurs in the pollen.[8]

As a preventive measure, it is important to keep the colony tight and strong,[5] and to open ventilation holes at the bottom of the hives.[1] It is also stated that cleaning and maintaining the hives is essential, increasing the bee colony's immunity and maintaining the temperature balance inside the hive.[8]

Nutritional Disorder Diseases of Bees

Bee Diarrhea

Folkloric statements:

Bee diarrhoea is also called "*bee cold*".[13] Bee diarrhoea periodically creates problems in beekeeping.[12] It is reported that syrup drunk randomly,[35] and watery syrup consumed in cold weather cause bee diarrhoea.[37]

In the treatment, lemon salt is added to the syrup given to bees, and thus it is reported that bee diarrhoea has stopped.[12] If bee diarrhoea is seen, it is ensured that the bee sees the sun in sunny weather.[35]

As a preventive measure, the temperature inside the hive is adjusted or the bees are taken out into the open air in sunny weather. Bees are given a mixture of pear molasses and herbs.[37]

Food Poisoning in Bees

Folkloric statements:

One of the diseases that should be considered in bees is food poisoning. It is reported that bee lice medicine is given one day after drinking syrup so that the bee does not get food poisoning.[38]

Hive Disinfection and Bee Immunity

Since the cannabis plant cultivation in the region was high in the past, it is reported that cannabis fume is frequently used in beekeeping for the disinfection of the hives, and it is given to the hives at specific intervals to increase the resistance of the bee colonies with the fumigation method.[39]

In cases where the number of bees in the hive is low and the number of combs is high, bee frostbite can be seen. Therefore, no new combs should be placed between the combs in the beehives. The syrup should not be given to bees in cold weather, especially in winter, and the hive should not be opened below 18 °C, especially in winter, so that the temperature inside the hive does not drop. When the hive is to be opened, its front side should be positioned, so it does not receive wind.[5]

Hive disinfection is done every March against diseases and pests.[38] Baking soda and vinegar are used in hive cleaning.[11] In cleaning the inside of the hive, boiling water is poured from a place such as a ramp and the bee wax is softened, and then removed with the help of a sharp wire brush. In addition, in preparation for the new period, the hive is disinfected by burning it with a blowtorch.[38] In addition, it is reported that alcohol is burned and brought to the consistency of oil and used as a paint on the outside of the beehives. The paint made with this bee wax is absorbed by the logs, thus preventing the bees from getting cold and

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protecting the bees from diseases. It is also reported that the paint made with bee wax is applied inside the hive to ensure hive disinfection.[11]

DISCUSSION

According to Kurt (2008: 1-75), it is stated that 37 diseases related to bacterial, viral, protozoal, fungal, yeast, Varroa and Lepidoptera and small hive beetle, bee lice and trachea mite can be seen in bees. In the study, the fact that folkloric data on only six bee diseases were reported in the Ordu-Giresun Region, where beekeeping is intense, can be explained by the preventive medicine awareness of the people of the region in the context of the data regarding the attention to bee disinfection and bee immunity.

Infection occurs even after 30 years in a hive contaminated with spores, the presence of spores in soil and similar environments changes depending on external factors (Solmaz *et al.*, 2021: 38). American foulbrood is a notifiable disease in many countries, and the destruction of contaminated beehives and contact materials by burning is the most successful control method. However, developing practical approaches to combat this severe epizootic is difficult, as the infection's molecular features are broadly not understood (Müller *et al.*, 2015: 765). It usually occurs in early spring, especially at night. Exposure to unexpected and sudden cold weather conditions, not having enough healthy adult bees to wrap the brood combs, not compacting the bees well enough, not using a dividing board when necessary, and insufficient heat preservation of the colonies with new brood cause serious problems (Solmaz *et al.*, 2021: 43). In the study, it was stated that the temperature inside the hive is an essential factor in the prevention of this disease, with findings such as the bees not getting cold, the number of bees in the hive (Figures 2, 3) and the temperature in the hive being in balance, and revealing the information that the combs in the contaminated beehives should be destroyed in the fight are similar to the study data of Müller *et al.*, and Solmaz *et al.* Also, it can be said that the people of the region resort to rational methods in the fight against American foulbrood, which is one of the epidemic diseases of bees.

It is reported that nicotine, which is found in 2.5-3% of tobacco leaves, has an acaricidal effect and its fume is effective at approximately 75% (Sönmez, 2010: 45; Mucsi, 2020); especially in the fight against bee lice especially seen in honeybees, hair rag or fragrant plants (thyme, tobacco, mint, etc.) are burned and fume is sprayed into the beehive with a blower (Sinmez, 2011: 78). In the study, in the fight against bee lice, burning the acorn cones or sacks made from cannabis plants, tobacco, and tinder fungus found in chestnut trees and spraying the fume inside the beehive with a blower is similar to the work of Sinmez. This shows that fumigation technique has been applied in the fight against bee lice from the past to the present and that the folkloric veterinary medicine practices of the Anatolian people are generally compatible and rational with scientific data. It can also be stated that in the fight against varroa, the region's people apply traditional techniques by using the plant-based materials they obtained from the region and animal-based materials such as honey and butter.

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In the Nosemosis disease seen in honeybee adults, the increase of undigested nutrients accumulated in the intestine causes the abdominal region of the sick bee to swell. If preventive spraying is neglected, colonies begin to develop weakly in the spring, and significant yield losses occur in colonies whose development slows down or stops (Öztürk, 2014: 29). In order to protect honeybees against Nosemosis, 1 litre of thyme juice (black thyme, *Thymbra spicata*) containing thymol compound is added to 8 litres of sugar syrup (prepared at the rate of 2 parts sugar: 1 part water) and given 0.5 litres per hive twice with one week interval (Özüiçli and Aydın, 2018: 155). In the study, similar to Öztürk's data, it can be said that bloating is seen in the intestines of the bees and that the number of bees in the hive has decreased significantly observed correctly by the people of the region. Therefore, the use of thyme and thyme oil in the treatment can be stated as a rational treatment method that is generally compatible with the work of Özüiçli and Aydın.

Physical heat applications are tried to protect the honeycombs against the damages caused by the wax moth in the hive. Among them, the cooling application is a convenient and inexpensive method, it can be used comfortably and safely, and it can be used for wax moths in all stages from egg to adult die in honeycombs kept for 2 hours at -15° C, 3 hours at -12° C and 4.5 hours at -7° C. It is reported that it dies, and high temperatures such as 70-80° C are sufficient for the death of all stages of the pest (Akyol, 2013: 4). In a study investigating the effect of cold application at –5 °C on the protection of honeycombs against wax moth, it is stated that the impact of the cold application on the amount of honeycomb is unaffected by wax moths is statistically significant ($P<0.01$). It is stated that even moth-infested honeycombs can be preserved for a while in general-purpose cold storage after harvest at the end of the season (Akyol and Korkmaz, 2008: 28). The study shows that the physical methods applied to protect the hives from moths are in parallel with the studies mentioned above. Therefore, it can be said that physical applications such as preventing temperature increase by placing the honeycombs on top of each other, burning the diseased combs, and keeping the moth-infested honey at -20 °C (Figure 4) are the rational methods preferred by the people of the region in terms of being cheap, not leaving any residue in the honey and not adversely affecting the health of the honeybees.

Gökçe *et al.* (2002: 21) found that the contagion rate of lime disease for the Black Sea region in 2002 was 7.8%; Cakmak *et al.*, (2003: 33) reported that this disease is a fungal disease that develops in suitable environmental conditions and that it generally occurs seasonally, and beekeepers eliminate this problem with good ventilation at increasing temperatures. In the study, it can be stated that this disease occurs in cold and humid weather, similar to the study data of Çakmak *et al.* and Gökçe *et al.* Therefore, the disease continues to be a threat to the region's beekeeping. In addition, it can be claimed that folkloric methods such as hive cleaning and care applied for preventive medicine for this disease are rational.

There was no report of the viral infection known as bag rot, bag disease, and pickled brood in Türkiye (Tuncer and Yeşilbağ, 2009: 151; Balkaya *et al.*, 2016:

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344; Kalaycı *et al.*, 2019: 552). However, data show that chronic bee paralysis virus in Türkiye causes significant losses, especially in the summer months (Tuncer and Yeşilbağ, 2009: 153). In a study conducted in Türkiye in 2010, the presence of the "*chronic bee paralysis virus*" was shown and its prevalence was reported as 53.57% (Okur-Gumusova *et al.*, 2010: 782). Another study in Türkiye stated that the Israeli acute bee paralysis virus was detected in bee colonies in Türkiye (Özkırım and Schiesser, 2013: 56). In the study, in parallel with the above sources, it can be said that the fact that the people of the region do not give any information about the viral diseases of bees indicates the possibility that other viral diseases, especially bag rot, are not seen in the region, and that the people of the region have a strong observation ability regarding bee diseases. In addition, with the current scans to be made in the Black Sea region regarding the bee paralysis virus, which is stated to be seen in Türkiye, the exposure of regional beekeeping to this infection will be evaluated with more precise data.

Borba *et al.*, (2015: 3690), stated that colonies should not be fed with sugar syrup in autumn and all colonies should have enough honey storage to spend the winter. Hives should be made of wood or other natural materials (Uygur, 2005: 105), and natural products such as propolis, beeswax, and plant oils should be used instead of chemical dyes. With the blowtorch, the hives can be disinfected directly with physical applications such as a flame (Uygur, 2005: 106; Cengiz *et al.*, 2010: 54). Other beekeeping materials should be disinfected using boiling water, caustic soda, and natural plant extracts. In addition, water and steam, acetic acid, and sodium carbonate can be preferred for cleaning and disinfecting beekeeping equipment (Cengiz *et al.*, 2010: 56). Wood preservatives and paints used to protect the beehive against deterioration should not contain pesticides and fungicides that could contaminate honey (Bogdanov, 2006: 12). In the study, similar to the data of Borba *et al.*, the syrup was not given to bees in cold weather, especially in winter; Similar to the data of Uygur and Cengiz *et al.*, it is seen that the paint obtained from bee wax is applied to the outside of the log hives (Figures 2, 3) instead of chemical dyes, and carbonate and vinegar are used in the disinfection of the hive, and the hive disinfection is carried out by burning it with a blowtorch. Parallel to Bogdanov's statements, it can be argued that care was taken to ensure that the wood preservatives and dyes used by the people of the region are free from drugs and other chemicals that can contaminate honey, and that the folkloric techniques they apply are rational practices that are directly effective in bee health and therefore welfare.

CONCLUSION

As a result, it can be said that folkloric medicine based on experience, which continues to be practiced today, continues to exist in bee diseases, treatments, and protection of the Ordu-Giresun Region; however, the 39 interviewees on the subject could not or did not have any information about viral infections of bees and poisoning caused by pesticides. In addition, while it can be stated that the folkloric methods applied in beekeeping are rational and sensible in the light of scientific

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data, it can be said that more scientific research is needed because there are few studies on the effects and safety of alternative methods of protection applied.

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WAS THERE A BETTER TIME TO BE MOTHER? PAST AND PRESENT OF THE SOCIO-CULTURAL FEAR OF CRIME

HİCRAN KARATAŞ

ABSTRACT

Fear of crime refers to the fear of being a victim of crime, and it is nurtured by folklore and the media. Folklore fosters fear of crime by using oral tradition transferred throughout generations by updating old contexts into modern times. On the other hand, the media visualizes the possibility of being a victim by introducing the real-life experiences of victims. Contrary to folklore, victims presented in the media seem more accessible, and the victimization of individuals can be proven. Folklore and the media have cooperated to keep the fear of crime alive to warn society that individual lives are on the verge of becoming victims of criminals. In this paper, I aim to describe the fear of crime through two particular crimes: Child abductions and organ thefts. Data for this research comes from two sets of materials: Newspaper news stories and semi-structured interviews conducted in face-to-face settings with mothers from two different generations. My research reveals that mothers of the eighties were scared of their children being victims of beggar gangs and organ trade criminals, while generation Y mothers suffer from the possibility of their children being victims of online grooming and sextortion.

Keywords: Folklore, media, fear of crime, urban legends, organ theft narratives.

INTRODUCTION

The fear of crime encompasses the pervasive apprehension experienced by individuals, who constantly harbor concerns about becoming victims of specific criminal acts. Fear of crime is defined as an emotional response of fear or anxiety toward the crime itself or symbols that individuals associated with it (Ferraro 1995, 4). Scholarly understanding related to fear of crime has been clustered in two centers. The first group focused on emotional responses corresponding it to emotional stress felt by the innocent who lives according to the law, fearing being the victim of specific crimes (Ferraro and LeGrange 1987). Others focus on its multifaceted effects on the emotional, cognitive, and behavioral responses of the person (*e.g.* Gabriel and Greve 2003). This emotional response is characterized by a sense of peril and anxiety, predominantly stemming from the perceived threat of physical harm. Fear of crime can be traced through emotional responses to crime or

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symbols associated with the symbols of it. Ferraro and LeGrange suggest that fear of crime can affect the judgment of individuals who estimate the risk of victimization. According to this process, individuals relate certain acts, spaces, times, and conditions to the possibility of victimization (1997). The social repercussions of this fear can be profound, leading individuals to modify their daily routines, withdraw from community engagement, undermine social cohesion, and erode trust in neighbors and relatives. Consequently, individuals may adopt sequestered lifestyles to safeguard themselves and their loved ones. While fear of crime primarily relates to the potential for physical harm, it is also nurtured by apprehension regarding potential property loss (Garofalo 1981; Karakuş *et al.* 2010; Jackson 2011). Emotional and behavioral reactions stemming from fear of crime manifested through strictly controlled behaviors in order to reduce the risk of victimization (Ferraro 1996). Individuals estimate and respond to risk through avoidance, protective, or defensive behaviors (Silva and Guedes 2022, 3). Individuals often associate specific behaviors or symbols with criminal activities, thereby fostering social paranoia and engendering a marked disparity between actual crime rates and the perceived fear of crime, with the latter frequently exerting a more potent influence than factual reality (Taylor and Covington 1993; Warr and Stafford 1983). In the scope of my research, I mainly picture how fear of victimization in organ trade affects the attitudes of mothers who grew up listening to organ theft narratives, and fear of crime was transformed through generations.

METHODS AND DATA

During my research project to understand folkloric and cultural reasons behind the reluctance for cadaveric and live organ donations, I realized that organ theft narratives influenced altruistic organ donations. Conducting field research, I encountered many informants growing up hearing organ theft narratives, who did not want to donate their organs as the stories had made them scared of being victims of the organ mafia. Focusing on the demographic information recorded in their consent forms, I realized they had been born in the late fifties or sixties. Therefore, I scanned national news from the 1970s to see if there were stories published that would feed their fears. I found that the first organ transplantation news was published at the beginning of the seventies, and this news was only about organ transplantations that took place abroad. When the first successful transplant operation in Türkiye in 1975, rumors about the possibility of organ transplantation came to be true. At the time of this pioneering transplant operation in Turkey, my informants, who would later be scared of organ theft stories, were between ages 13-18. It was not until September 1980 that possible donors' healthy organs would be known to have a market value (Hürriyet 1980). Even though news in the media indirectly confirmed that organs had cash value in the market, verifiable organ trade news was first broadcast in Turkey on February 2, 1997. Most of my informants (Table 1) stated that they feared being targeted by organ trade organizations if they donated their organs while alive. I also witnessed female informants with children justify their fears by referencing the organ theft narratives

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they heard from their acquaintances. This experience led me to investigate how and to what extent motherhood as a social status made women experience fear of crime.

I conducted semi-structured face-to-face interviews with mothers (n=15) born between 1955 and 1965 and their daughters (n=15) born between 1980 and 1995. At the beginning of fieldwork, I contacted a lawyer friend with two children and her mother with three. With their help, I used respondent-driven sampling to recruit the informants. Hence, I could interview mothers and their daughters who experienced motherhood separately between August 10, 2022, and October 10, 2022. Apart from the name of the cities, all other names were given under pseudonym of common Turkish names, as protecting the privacy and security of participants is the primary ethical responsibility of the researcher (Hicks 1977; Amstrong 1993; Guenther 2009; McCormack *et al.* 2012; Svalastog and Eriksson 2010; Brear 2018).

Interview questions were classified into four groups: 1. Demographic information, 2. Sources of actual fear of crime: personal experiences of direct or indirect victimization, 3. Sources of unrealistic fear of crime: urban legends 4. Self-protection strategies against child abduction and organ theft. All informants participated voluntarily in the study and lived in Ankara, the capital of Türkiye. Researchers have previously noted that fear of crime increases in urban environments (Pain 2000 370; Farrall, *et al.* 2004; Karakuş 2013; Greenberg and Ruback 1992; Skogan and Maxfield 1981; Bilen *et al.* 2013). Therefore, Ankara would be an ideal place to investigate women's fear of being victims of crimes. While the mothers' interviews unveiled the fear of becoming a victim of child abduction in the eighties, their narratives disclosed the fear of crime perceived toward organ theft. On the other hand, their daughters reflected their fears of sexploitation and online grooming.

While mothers in the first group represented baby boomers, their millennial daughters belonged to generation Y. As previous studies suggested that gender and status may affect fear of crime, I also investigated if motherhood makes women vulnerable to developing a fear of crime for specific crimes (Chiricos *et al.* 2000; Cops and Pleysier 2011; Çardak 2012; Erdönmez 2009; Goodey 1997).

Table 1. Informants' age

Age brackets	Number of informants
25-30	1
31-35	8
36-40	2
41-45	4
46-50	-
51-55	-
56-60	3
61-65	5
66 and above	7

The secondary data were collected from the news that appeared in newspapers to observe if child abductions and organ theft cases were prevalent. While indirect fear of crime mainly originated from urban legends that are

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supposed to happen to others whose identities are referred to third parties, such as coworkers of a friend or acquaintance of a relative, news and personal experience narratives of personally known people mirror the direct fear of crime level. Interviews showed that the urban legends related to child abduction and organ theft were told in the structure and functions of horror stories. Before conducting interviews, the Ethics Committee Approval for the research was obtained from Bartın University Social and Humanities Research Ethics Board with the document number SBB-0055.

FOLKLORE AND FEAR OF CRIME

In the past, folklore was commonly understood as comparing and identifying the survival of archaic beliefs and customs in traditions of the modern age. It was attributed to people below a certain level of culture (Gomme 1890, 3). This limited definition of folklore only embraced illiterate peasants who were able to store and transmit their folklore in face-to-face interaction. For a long time, the ability to write and the setting of cultural transmission functioned as critical criteria to decide whose folklore was worthy of study (Newell 1891). The breakthrough of folklore, which enhanced its dimensions with communicative, aesthetic, and performative aspects of life, came with the definition of folk itself (Dundes 1977). This broad definition of folk opened the gates that swaddled all aspects of life, in the past and present. Criminal folklore, a relatively new area to study, focuses on forbidden knowledge transferred throughout generations. It is folk knowledge that members of subcultures or groups gathered around illegal activity and non-criminal actors tell, practice, know and transfer throughout generations about crime and criminals (Karataş 2021, 21). Since illegal activity has always been a part of human life, a significant amount of knowledge has been accumulated over the ages. Botkin's definition of folklore may well serve to understand how crime and folklore are related. He defined folklore as new wine in old bottles and old wine in new bottles (1944, xxi). What matters is how wine, and bottles are transferred to new generations. Therefore, folklorists must focus on where human behaviors come from and how they evolved into modern forms. People with direct or indirect contact with criminal activity are oral sources of criminal folklore, and non-criminal actors live at the edge of crime during their lifetime. Even though we all live only one step away from this threshold to stay out of trouble, one can find himself as an offender or victim. We pursue our lives knowing that crime and criminals are around us, and we take a lesson from narratives regarding criminals or victims. At this point, narratives function as guidebooks that teach us to stay away from the wrong places and people. Crime-related narratives are a subcategory of urban legends in which an experience is attributed to a "friend of a friend". Urban legends, according to Brunvand, were formerly termed urban belief tales, contemporary legends, modern legends, urban rumors, and modern urban legends reflecting the social concerns of modern life in cities, and suburbs (1996: 1509). Their credibility comes from the events and people mentioned in the plot, which are familiar to us. These narratives reflect the contemporary concerns in society,

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and this increases the captivity of narratives. Furthermore, they are told and listened by individuals regardless of class, age, or gender (Brunvand 2001).

Numerous studies have noted that crime news that appears in the media increases the fear of crime (Ditton *et al.* 2004; Taylor and Covington 1993; Warr 2000; Warr and Ellison 2000; Jackson 2006; Heath and Petraitis, 1987; Chiricos *et al.* 1997, 2000). However, few imply that urban narratives keep fear of crime alive (Campion-Vincent 1990, 1992, 2002a, 2002b, 1997; Çelik 2005; Scheper-Hughes 1996; Blache 1999; Brunvard 1993, 2001; Burger 1996; Atreya and Nepal 2019). Folklore has always been among the sources of fear of crime, shifting its focus from old forms of crime, such as sorcery, and adultery, to contemporary ones. Folklore has nurtured the perception of risk through urban legends warning anyone can find themselves as a criminal or victim. As a matter of fact, urban legends regarding crime, reflect social anxiety, and fear. Terming these specific urban legends as crime legends, Donovan (2002, 190), draws our attention to their aggressive and solidaristic functions. Aggressive features of urban legends intervene with our sense of safety, suggesting we are all alone to protect ourselves. With her words, narratives disrupt the hearer's confidence in the protection provided by official guardians and official sources of warning about crime threats. Yet, narratives also offer a valid warning, a gesture of protection.

Furthermore, urban legends can be formulated and transmitted by mouth-to-mouth conversation and media, accelerating the rate of circulation. As de Vos noted, they can be transmitted electronically via e-mails (2008, 479). Urban legends mostly draw our attention to the safety of our bodies, minds, and possessions. They use the method of authentication to increase the credibility of the story. The most familiar form of the method is telling the story by attributing the experience to a "friend of a friend", and the audience may safely suppose that the teller knows the owner of the experience. Urban narratives facilitate the cultural elements, names, and spaces that are familiar to the listener as well, which helps listeners not to ask the question of "How this can be possible?" Tellers, according to de Vos, can tell the urban legends as if they listened, read, or watched them, which increases the credibility of the narrative (2008, 479).

People tell these stories to kill time in conversations and small talk in waiting rooms, bars, and trips. Rape, violence, child abduction, murder, organ theft, and any other crime that listeners might be a victim of in the future can be the theme of the narrative. After the teller presents his story, oral transmission continues, and the listener turns into the teller. One can wonder how a conversation comes to a point where the teller tells a story about a crime or victim. The answer to this very question is hidden in experience. While waiting for a bus, I eavesdropped on two women. The younger one complained about her daughter spending too much time on interactive computer games. The older one started to tell a story in which her sister's neighbor's young daughter had met a boy in online video games. The boy asked her to share her naked photos with him, which she did. According to the story, the boy wasn't a boy but an adult who was working for a prostitution gang. Obtaining her photos, he started to blackmail her. He sold her to other adults until she committed suicide. According to the story, the young girl was a well-behaved student with great

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potential. The story's focus was that even brilliant, well-taught kids could fall into the trap of being victims of crime. Urban legends regarding offenders, victims, or offenses may present themselves in conversations once tellers want listeners to know what happens to other people when they are not careful enough to watch their back or make a mistake to feel safe at the wrong time.

Folklore is a national storehouse where society keeps folk knowledge accumulated throughout generations. This knowledge contains joyful, proud, wise elements and dangerous, sinful, and inglorious components. As the proverb suggests, if the crime were gold, no one would own it. That is why folklore of cultures throughout the world have idioms to justify accidental criminals as "victims of fate." Even though society tends to ignore that offenders are also members of society, innocent members of the community are aware that we live in a World in which crime was and is prevalent. This social reality becomes consumable in media and folklore, where crime and victim-related stories always have appetent consumers. On the one hand, audiences enjoy being grateful for not being in the wrong place and time; on the other hand, they fear that the same thing may happen to them in the future.

Folklore and media work together to create and nurture the fear of crime in modern times. While folklore nurtures listeners' desires, media fulfills spectators by supplying them with visual crime-victim stories. Thus, folklore and media create awareness of crimes that are mostly unfamiliar to society, such as pin-prick attacks, public masturbation, and organ theft. The stories circulate publicly until authorities gain an understanding of recently discovered crimes. At this point, the legislation creates penal codes for inventors. According to Blumer's theory, the media is at the center of legislation since the latest crime first appeared in the media long before law enforcement authorities heard of them. Mouth-to-mouth conversations strengthen the media's impact on fostering fear of crime involving newly discovered crimes. Indeed, studies show that fear of crime first appeared with oral tradition's mouth-to-mouth circulation. Second, rumors become the subject of non-script daytime shows, of which most audiences are women and laymen. Third, legislators discuss how to react against these new crimes (Blumer, 1971, 300; Spector and Kitsuse 1977, 145; Rosengren 1978, 131). People who stay away from crime and fear being a victim are entirely unguarded during these stages; both the tellers of stories and the media overstate elements of the victim stories to strengthen the story's effectiveness over audiences through dramatization, background music, and performance. The leading message of both shows and narratives is that if you trust people around you and are not vigilant about possible situations, you may become the next victim of the crime presented.

While media distract society's attention from the social and cultural factors that cause crime and direct it to the pathology of the criminals, folklore supports the idea through urban legends that criminals are everywhere around us; they might even be in our households. As Lambrosso suggested, the media intervene with our perceptions of crime to create a fear of crime. In his words, since the media's intervention presents crimes with a focus on the criminal, we direct our feelings toward the criminal instead of the crime (2010, 265). Therefore, we perceive crime as a social event rather than a social phenomenon that individualizes crime in

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parallel with the offender. Lambrosso's theory must be enlarged by the influence of folklore in fostering fear of crime.

Crime has always been a best-selling story, providing consumers excitement and small reasons to be grateful. Being exploited by crime stories, people become aware of the violent experiences of victims and become thankful for not being one of them. Since media and folklore present criminals by focusing on their personalities and appearances, criminals' criminalized behavior and physiological characteristics are placed in social memory in the form presented in these stories. The stereotypical characteristics of criminals in Anatolian-Turkish folk tales, for example, often include ugliness, lameness, beardless faces, particular tones of voice, being too short or tall, slimness, dowdiness, squinting or glassy eyes, and stuttering (Demir 2018, 48; İçöz 2008, 100-105; Sönmez 199, 199-267; Yüksel 2011, 44). Cross-cultural studies noted that these physiological features and disabilities had been marked to draw our attention to possible offenders (Bull and Green 1980, 80-82; Lambrosso 2006, 54-58; Ellis 1910, p. 86)[1]. In folklore, particular crimes are hereditary as well. Madness, for instance, is inherited. Likewise, ancestry comes before beauty; nobility or being a lady or gentleman is passed down through the familial lineage, associating criminals with so-called genetic tendencies to commit crimes (Karataş 2018; Demir 2018; İçöz 2008; Yüksel 2011).

Furthermore, when presenting the offenders, the media provide their medical history and early childhood experiences and often add interviews with character witnesses who testify that something was wrong with them. According to Sanders and Lyon, the media presents criminals' tendency to delinquency by linking them to explanations such as childhood illnesses, experiences, lack of moral education, orphanhood, and weakness (1995, 26). Hence, the line between the world of criminals and the world of the ideal citizens is drawn. In this very context, fear of crime serves political interests. Shows and news about the fight against crime encourage voters to incline toward the governments that promise electors to devote the maximum budget to fight against crime to sustain the public's safety. Therefore, TV programs about crime and criminals make up a third of daily live broadcasts. Live shows mostly feature suspicious murder cases. Stories of sexual crimes, fraud, and theft stories rank second in daytime shows (Gerbner 1972, 156; Kappeler and Potter 2005, 25; Bohm 1986, 205; Öztürk 2015; Rader *et al.* 2012). During the presentation of the criminal story, the audience is convinced that violent crimes stem from greed and jealousy, criminals get caught by the police sooner or later, and audiences are warned to stay calm but vigilant.

FEAR OF CRIME THROUGH GENERATIONS: "TIMES HAVE CHANGED A LOT"

As generations form their fear of crime in relation to their time, it is the most influential factor in the social perception of criminal behaviors. Furthermore,

[1] Proverbs are also used to mark possible criminals. "God protect me from the beardless man," "salute from the altar the beardless man and woman," and "trust not the woman with a man's voice, and a man with a woman's voice" illustrate how proverbs are used to criminalize particular people in terms of their appearances (see Ellis 1910; Lombroso 2010).

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it designates our reactions toward particular acts and determines which is a crime. As people's social, physiological, and moral needs and expectations change, culture update norms to satisfy contemporary trends. Meanwhile, the state is forced to address the legal requirements of the public by introducing, abolishing, or correcting laws. Therefore, the history of penal codes mirrors a society's reaction to particular social behaviors. Additionally, societies can progress or regress in technology, science, and democracy. Those of developed, in particular, meet new crimes. Developments in technology and science open the door slightly, creating favorable conditions for the emergence of new crimes. As people are caught unprepared, criminal entrepreneurs exploit their ignorance until personal experience narratives of victims reach legislators' ears. Indeed, urban legends regarding cybercrimes, pinprick attacks[2], and organ trade started to circulate long before the penal codes were enacted. To illustrate, narratives about pinprick attacks started to circulate in the late nineties, long before the first victim was recorded in Konya in 2003 (Hürriyet 2003; Milliyet 2003). The needle attacks caused fear of crime in Konya, Adana, Bursa, and Ankara and finally became the subject of penal codes in 2004[3].

Similarly, organ trade and trafficking were introduced into the modern world with advancements in medicine. Even though organ transplantation operations were successfully conducted in the sixties, the potential of the human body to reject transplanted organs limited the operations[4]. The medical use of cyclosporine in preventing and treating the rejection of transplanted organs 1983 led to more successful transplants (Hatzinger *et al.* 2016)[5]. Turkish regulations enacted in 1979 have allowed patients to accept organ donation from spouses[6] and from blood or in-law relatives up to the fourth degree. the law permits cross-transplantation as well (Mevzuat 2022b). However, not all patients are lucky enough to have willing and healthy donor candidates. That is why regulations also allow patients to look for non-kin donors, provided that donors do not sell their organs to patients and the ethics committee grants permission (Mevzuat 2022b). Although the first organ transplantation trials in Turkey go back to the late sixties, the first successful operation was conducted in 1975. Knowing advancements in modern medicine have made organ transplantation possible since 1954, we may be surprised that the

[2] A pinprick attack is an assault on a victim with a needle or syringe with bodily fluids of someone carrying fatal contagious diseases. The first nonfatal pinprick attack was reported in New York and committed by teenage girls in 1989. On the other hand, the first deadly attack happened in 1990 in Australia with an HIV infected syringe. The victim tested HIV positive and died eight years after (see Atreya and Nepal 2019).

[3] Pinprick assaults were classified under negligence injuries in 2004. Even though Turkish laws do not directly point to pinpricking, it defines it as committing a crime of injury (see Mevzuat 2022a).

[4] Joseph Murray performed the first long-term successful kidney transplantation in 1954. Transplantation was done between monozygotic twin brothers. The transplanted organ survived for eight years (see Hatzinger *et al.* 2016).

[5] The first organ transplant accompanied with immunosuppression performed in 1960 (see Hatzinger *et al.* 2016).

[6]The regulations for organ Donation between spouses were amended in 2018 with law 7151. If the disease requiring organ transplantation is diagnosed after marriage, the two-year marriage requirement for organ donation between spouses is no longer mandated (see Mevzuat 2022b).

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first organ trade was reported in the eighties in the World. 131 kidney patients from UAE and Oman traveled to Bombay between June 1984 and May 1988 with their surgeons and received kidneys from unrelated Indian donors paid between 2600-3300 USD (Price 2000; Salahuden *et al.*, 1990). A year after the use of cyclosporin in transplant surgery, the organs from living unrelated donor candidates turned into cash value in illicit markets.

Organ theft narratives, as a subcategory of urban legends, feed the fear of being a victim of the organ trade. Studies show that organ theft narratives were first circulated in the late eighties – just after the very first successful operations – in Peru, Brazil, South Africa, and the United States (Ansion 1989; Scheper-Hughes 1992, 1996; Blache 1999; Brunvard 1993, 2001; Brednich 1991; Moravec 1993; Burger 1996; Campion-Vincent 1990, 1997; Çelik 2005). According to Scheper-Hughes' research, organ theft narratives originated in Central and South America and later surfaced in Eastern Europe (1996). Human rights groups investigated the stories, and the European Parliament condemned alleged operations in 1988. Organ theft narratives so frightened the public that, in Ansion's words, the government in Peru had to shut schools down for a few days (1989). Italian variants of narratives claimed that hundreds of poor children were kidnapped for their organs. According to these stories, mobile organ transplantation gangs hunted poor and healthy children in the streets of the poor neighborhoods of Rome. A series of news investigated these narratives asking whether missing children were kidnapped for their organs (Toselli 1991). In Turkey, on the other hand, the first national news on organ trade appeared on February 2, 1997. Before the story was broadcast, organ theft narratives were in mouth-to-mouth circulation, feeding the anticipated fear of crime. According to the accounts of Çelik (2005), organ theft narratives had already tainted the daily life in Anatolia, presenting friends of friends as victims in the organ trade at the beginning of the nineties. The earliest record of organ theft narratives compiled in my fieldwork dates back to 1992. Some young informants (n=12) had heard organ theft stories when they were in middle school, and others (n=3) in high school back then. Respondents remembered their teacher's and relatives' narratives as if narrators knew the victims. Nurgül and Fatma (32- and 33-year-old informants) pointed out that their mothers told organ theft stories to warn the young to be aware of possible offenders when they were in middle school. My informant, Fatma, described her memories using these words:

> I was a student in middle school in Ankara. My aunts heard that a young girl was kidnapped as she returned home from school. The rumors frightened my parents terribly. They asked my grandmother if she could move in with us. My grandmother had to drop me off at school and then also pick me up until I started boarding school. Even then, I wasn't allowed to leave the school without company. My mother warned me not to drink or eat anything offered by strangers, and she kept reminding me during telephone conversations.

While confirming her daughter, Fatma's mother added that kidnap narratives tainted her early motherhood experiences with anxiety. While her maternal instincts focused on protecting her children from beggar gangs in the eighties, the mid-nineties introduced organ theft narratives.

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I married in 1978 and became a mother the following year. Stories were circulating that beggar gangs were kidnapping young kids. It was said that they cut off children's arms, hands, and legs or blinded their eyes to turn them beggars. Back then, people told these stories pointing to witnesses. I can't refute them because I also heard such a story. My neighbor's sister-in-law had twin boys. One of them disappeared while he was playing in the playground. The police couldn't find him. After some years, my neighbor's relatives claimed they had seen the boy begging in Istanbul. They said that boy responded when they called his name. But they couldn't save him as members of the mafia grabbed the child and ran away.

Nurgül's mother, on the other hand, didn't believe the stories, but still took precautions. While she was relatively calm in the face of kidnapping stories, she believed in organ theft stories.

In 1983, I was a mother of two. Stories about children abducted by beggars were told everywhere. I couldn't completely believe the truth of these stories. Even so, I kept my kids in sight constantly, dragging them around with me. No one wants to learn terrible things by experiencing them. It is better to watch out. In the nineties, on the other hand, my daughters were in high school. I got worried about whether organ mafia stories were true. They sounded so true. People warned each other in all kinds of social gatherings. After a while, I got paranoid.

The mothers in the first group (n=13) complained that they had experienced deep anxiety while raising their kids as stories of children abducted by beggar gangs or kidnapped for the organ trade were popular. On the other hand, a few of the mothers (n=2) stated that even though they did not experience fear of being a victim in the organ trade, they still took measures to avoid being a victim. Necmiye and Hülya heard stories about child abductions and were careful against possible hunters. Hülya said, "I took precautions and entrusted the rest to Allah." On the other hand, Merve, Hülya's 29 years old daughter, disagreed with her mother. She complained that she couldn't enjoy her high school years as her mother was constantly thinking of the worst scenarios that might happen. Her mother kept telling Merve victim stories in which even her male peers could not protect themselves, suggesting that she would be much more disadvantaged if she were a victim.

My mom didn't let me start boarding school, which was one and a half hours from home. During my high school years, it was also out of the question for me to sleep over at a friend's house. Once, she told me a story that happened to a friend of a friend of hers. An acquaintance of this friend let her teenage son spend the night at his friend's house. The father of his friend was a member of the organ mafia. He was using his son as bait to hunt others' kids. The mother got a telephone call from the police in the middle of the night, saying her son had been dumped in front of the hospital, and one of his kidneys was missing.

The organ theft narratives that circulated in the nineties compiled in my fieldwork have common elements: 1) Innocent victim who is drugged or ambushed, 2) Removal of a victim's kidney in unhygienic conditions by a non-surgeon in a home, hotel, or warehouse 3) Malicious but merciful criminals who dumped the victim at the door of a health facility 4) Victims, whose kidneys had been removed in unhealthy settings, arriving at hospitals just on time while

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surprisingly still alive. One of the most characteristic elements is that all of them teamed stolen kidneys. Even though other vital organs were able to be transplanted at the time, such as the heart, liver, and lungs, narratives facilitated kidneys as a horrifying element in the plots.

In order to evaluate the credibility of the narratives, I went through national news that appeared between 1975 and 2002 to see if any kidnapping cases were related to the organ trade organization. None of the stories on missing children or kidnapping (n=106) was related to organ theft. When I traced the news, I saw that most of the children were found by the police. Some of the rest escaped voluntarily and were photographed as they were reunited with their families. The fate of the twelve missing children remained unknown. Although the news of these children with unknown fates continued to be published on successive days, after a while, they ceased. Indeed earlier studies point out that most of the reported kidnaped cases turn out to be that they willingly escaped (Fritz and Altheide 1987, 483-488).

Turkish organ transplantation and donation regulations, which have been effective since 1979, clearly and strictly state that only fully informed adults older than 18 can be living donors. The regulations (Resmi Gazete July 1979) mandated doctors to conduct ethical research to ensure that possible kin or non-kin living donors donate organs for altruistic motivations. Listeners might have credited the stories as unrelated organ donation was approved fully informed notarization back then. However, none of the news that appeared in the nineties indicated that missing or kidnapped children ended up as victims of organ trade. The national news during these times included unrelated adult male donors going abroad, or victims who became willing donors in organ exchange within the borders of the country due to economic reasons.

Furthermore, the news and police reports mentioned victims as paid donors selling either their liver lobes or kidneys, but organ theft narratives only contained stolen kidneys of kidnapped or missing children. Apart from the news that appeared in 1980, the most shocking news about Turkey's organ trade criminals was Uğur Dündar's broadcast on TV and published in national newspapers. This news shocked the country, revealing that organ trade rumors were partly true. For the first time, a doctor, who has been dubbed Dr. Frankenstein since, was shown in a clean white coat and under Hippocratic swear while taking part as an actor in the organ trade, which is perhaps what made this news so shocking. Until this news, organ theft narratives' credibility came from news reporting events that happened to strangers living in third-world countries. With this story, Uğur Dündar exposed the existence of profit-oriented criminal organizations that abuse poor people willing to sell their organs, proving that the narratives that have been told for nearly a decade were accurate to a certain extent on February 2, 1997.

One of my questions aimed to test the effects of this news on my informants. The news eased the fear of most of my older informants (n=11), assuring them that only adults could donate or sell their organs. With its visual, audio, and verbal content, this news taught people about organ transplantation and donation laws and informed them that possible offenders do not target children. However, Aynur, my 68-year-old informant, was not convinced and asserted that organ trade criminals

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might have detained children abducted in the past until they came of age. The rest of my informants (n=3) stayed impartial, stating that narratives could still be true not knowing the fate of missing children.

During my research, I witnessed parents born in the fifties and sixties persuaded their children to withdraw their consented donation forms, scared that they would be targeted by organ trade gangs scanning the names on the national organ donation list. During my fieldwork, I came across individuals who interceded for patients looking for paid-living adult donors and witnessed many relatively young people seeking buyers. Since the ethical board decides if unrelated organ donors could proceed to operation and investigate the relationship between prospective recipients and donors strictly, many applications face being turned down. Experienced and informed patients with organ failure already knew this, and I witnessed that only inexperienced and impatient patients were willing to seek for paid-donors. As a consequence, I came across many swindled and disappointed patients (more than 17) in Ankara who couldn't report their victimhood since the law strictly states that being part of organ trade – selling, buying, or intermediation – is subject to jail time, plus a fine. During the nine months spent in the field, I didn't witness the elements presented in organ trade narratives. Compiling nearly sixty narratives (n=58) from my informants, I saw that these narratives intervene with the judgment of prospective donors presenting generation baby boomers. Their fear of being the victim of the organ trade produced an avoidance response, one of which was rejecting organ donation while they are alive. On the other hand, mothers born between 1980 and 1995 seemed to have a fear of crime fostered by multiple sources: Folklore, mass media, and social media. As they were born into the digital age, mothers mostly feared that online predators would victimize their children.

According to a recent report, 94.1 percent of the Turkish population today have internet service in their houses (TUIK 2023a). Surveys also showed that children (6-15 years old) spend almost seven hours a week online for extracurricular purposes. Nearly seventy percent of these children have smartphones with access to the internet, and 33,1 percent are active on social media. 66.1 percent of participants reported that they also enjoy spending time on online and offline games (TUIK, 2023b). The most interesting result of my research was that millennial mothers, as opposed to their own mothers, are afraid that their teenage children might run away from home because of online blackmail. Aylin, a 36-year-old informant, expressed her opinions as follows:

> Our mothers were luckier than us. They were afraid that ill-intentioned people would kidnap us. Now all of those people have online access to our houses. None of us, mothers, can be sure if our kids are chatting or playing with one of the predators. Girls (pointed to her daughters surfing on smartphones) have their own tablets, phones, and laptops. I am fed up with stories of little girls videotaped or photographed in games, WhatsApp, and Snapchat. Criminals do not even bother to kidnap children today; they create horrible situations, and children run away scared of shame.

Urban legends, social media posts, and news create an environment in which the children of millennial mothers are represented as prey of online predators. As opposed to the first group, some young mothers (n=2) pointed out that organ

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trade criminals may hunt their victims through social media or interactive games, but blackmailing would still be used in order to force their children to run away from home. Hence, I can assert that online blackmail is at the center of the fear of crime today, and the focus of fear of crime has evolved from children being kidnapped by criminals into being forced to run away from home through online blackmailing. Article 102 in the Turkish penal code states clearly that in violation of the physical integrity of another person via sexual conduct, the offender will be sentenced to imprisonment for five to ten years upon the complaint of the victim. On the other hand, child abuse is subjected to Article 103, which states that any person abusing a child sexually will be sentenced to eight to fifteen years of imprisonment (Küpeli 2019, 90-91). However, the legal process requires the victim to complain, and the parents of victims may not always be willing to report their experiences. Therefore, official reports and statistics do not reflect the prevalence of sextortion and online grooming cases. Surveys showed that only 10 to 17 percent of the victims report their experience to law enforcement after frequent online threats (Berson 2003; O'Connell 2003; Wolak and Finkelhor 2016; Thorn 2017). Likewise, apart from Aynur, my child psychiatrist informant, none of the others told the stories as their own experiences.

Urban legends of blackmailed victims were also mostly gendered. Only four boy victims were in the narratives (n=17) compiled during my fieldwork. While gendered narratives present young girls as victims of pedophilia, prostitution, and child porn, three blackmailed boys ended up being drug dealers, and only a little boy was the victim of pedophilia. Online blackmailing took place through sextortion and grooming. In the first case, victims were forced to perform sexual acts or share explicit images through which the victim was then blackmailed to pay money or obey the blackmailers. The second is emotional manipulation, through which the offender gains the trust of the child in order to set a personal meeting that may result in sexual abuse, physical violence, child prostitution, and child pornography (Kopecký 2017, 12; Raymond Choo 2009, 7; Çıkman *et al.* 2017, 89). Studies state that teenagers are vulnerable to becoming victims of online blackmailing as they are easily scared and often ashamed of informing the adults in their lives (Wilson 2011; Gavrilović Nilsson *et al.* 2019; O'Connell 2003). Surveys conducted with victims revealed that offenders threaten them with posting images to their acquaintances and keep stalking their victims in 60 percent of the cases (Wolak and Finkelhor 2016, 31-36; Babchishin *et al.* 2011). Online blackmailing may reach a life-threatening level. There have been cases where victims feel helpless and commit suicide (Hürriyet 2012d; Lester *et al.* 2013, 179; Berson 2003; Gavrilović Nilsson *et al.* 2019, 60).

My informant, Aynur, a 36-year-old mother with two teenage boys and a child psychiatrist, told me that at least two mothers bring their children for therapy every week after they send nudes or videos to total strangers they met online. Mothers seeking help mostly focus on their children's mental health and safety and are afraid to disclose their identity, so they mostly prefer to keep their situation secret. Mothers do not wish to disclose their experiences, so these cases remain unreported. During my archive research, I could find national news between

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2005 and 2022 (n=6) in which only one parent reported online predators. Unpleasant events regarding blackmailed children were exposed either by accident or as a result of follow-up law enforcement operations. Wolak and Finkelhor found out that only 13 percent of victims reported victimization. More than fifty percent of the victims did not disclose their situation to a family member or a friend, mostly due to shame or fear of repercussions (2016).

In the six national news stories, seven girls were among the victims. One of these news stories on blackmailed children warned parents recounting a police operation in which a teenage boy had become a drug user due to online blackmailing (Hürriyet 2012a; 2012b; 2012c; 2012d; 2017; 2019a; 2021). Apart from local events, two international events, from Germany and England, were introduced to warn parents and teenagers against online blackmail. A review of the contents of these stories showed that only one parent reported that her kid had been forced to pay money for fear that her pictures would be shared online. Only my child psychiatrist informant Aynur was able to recount verifiable personal experience narratives of victims of online sextortion or grooming, in total 3 narratives. The source of other narratives (n=14) was solely folklore. Melike, a 32-year-old informant, accounted a story heard from a friend:

> An acquaintance of my sister's neighbor had a daughter who engaged in interactive games named PubG. She was playing a lot. Her grades started suffering. She started hating her parents. Her parents thought it was a phase. She was hiding her phone and set a password. So, her parents didn't know what was going on. Her mother heard voices at night and got up. She entered her daughters' room. She found her talking on the phone. She took the phone, there was a guy on the other end. As soon as he heard the mother's voice, he hung up. She couldn't convince her daughter to show her phone. After begging for hours, the daughter let her go through her smartphone. But the mother was unfamiliar with smartphones and couldn't find anything. After a week, her daughter was detained by the police, together with a man who was a pimp. This guy had obtained nude pictures of the girl and she was scared of them being exposed. He blackmailed her for months. The poor little girl was actually very strong, I wouldn't be able to go through this kind of torture. The police had been following this guy. Hopefully, the family got their daughter back home. But it was luck.

Common narrative elements are more detailed than the texts of news appearing in newspapers. First, the experiences of victims are attributed to third parties who can't be reached but are trustable. Second, the plots of the narratives contain various sources of threats: names of interactive games, chat programs, such as Snapchat, TikTok, and Instagram. They also list the symptoms of blackmailed children: Their interest in classes decreases, and their grades suddenly drop. The tensions of typical adolescence become unbearable because of the child's fear of being exposed. Third, millennial mothers find out about their children's experiences as a result of a fortunate accident, discovery, or police operation. Four, mothers are forgiven because they are unfamiliar with chat programs and interactive games. This suggests to the listener that this may happen to any mother despite doing her best to protect her children. The teller of the narrative adds details of how the victim's mother handles her kid with gloves to encourage

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audiences not to accuse the mother of neglecting her child. Narratives also reflect the gendered fear of crime. While boys end up being drug consumers or sellers, female victims in narratives (n=12) were sextorted or groomed for sexual abuse, child pornography, or child prostitution. In narratives of online blackmailing of child victims, the true fear is not the possibility of financial exploitation of families, but the folklore-fed belief that children would be subjected to drugs, pedophilia, or child porn.

CONCLUSION

Previous studies on fear of crime mentioned the media as one of the strongest sources nurturing fear of crime. Only a few, indirectly, dwelled on how folklore may also foster fear of crime, particularly in the case of contemporary crimes. It is understandable as folklorists are reluctant to conduct fieldwork among criminals or victims because of an ethical burden. Exposure to trauma narratives experienced by victims in the field can be exhausting for the researcher. Conducting this kind of fieldwork also forces researchers to be willing to obtain bureaucratic permissions apart from the regular ethical board approval.

This research also mirrors the oral history of fear of crime and of the crimes affecting the social routines of mothers who experienced motherhood in the eighties and the millennium. My interviews reflect that folklore effectively nurtures the level of anticipated fear of crime. Since victims in the urban legends are presented as third parties whose experiences are either not provable or deniable, the audience keeps being aware of particular crimes, which already made the victims suffer and may do so to the listeners in the future. On the other hand, the media presents true victim stories, which in turn increases the credibility of urban legends circulated in face-to-face conversations. Even though national and international news (12 in total) does not adequately represent the actual fear of crime, readers cannot deny that some people suffer from particular crimes. Folklore and the media elevate the risk perception of ordinary people who are afraid of being victims. As numerous scholars have noted, status, gender, age, and early experiences, among others, make individuals vulnerable to being prospective victims of certain crimes (Henson, *et al.*, 2013; Farrall, *et al.*, 1997; Ferraro and LaGrange, 1987).

The main focus of my research was to depict how motherhood affects the perception of fear of crime and how folklore and media collaborate to cultivate fear of crime regarding organ theft and child abduction. My research showed that folklore impacts anticipated fear of crime through urban legends of victims whose experiences are unique to the period, and their long-term effects can intervene with life-altering decisions. With regard to organ donation, women who grew up listening to organ trade narratives were unwilling to be listed in prospective cadaveric donor lists, fearing being targeted by organ trade organizations. Since time and culture define the sources of fear of crime and the types of crime on the rise, mothers of the eighties were scared of their children being victims of beggar

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gangs and organ trade criminals, while generation Y mothers suffer from the possibility of their children being victims of online grooming and sextortion. Since the urban legends regarding to online blackmailing is now on the rise, It is difficult to know if they will have long-term effects on individuals who experience adolescence today. But we can safely assert that they already managed to alter the routines, and priorities of millennial mothers and teenagers. To sum up, while mothers in the first group feared that their children would be kidnapped, those in the second group lived in the fear that their kids would not be able to cope with embarrassment in the face of online blackmail and be forced to run away from home. Most of my informants in the second group (n=13) claimed their mothers were luckier by comparing the time periods in which they raised their kids: "Times have changed a lot."[7]

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"WHERE *MAGA* FALLS, *GUYMAN* GO WACK": RECOLLECTIONS OF THE IGBO TORTOISE FIGURE IN SELECTED CYBERCRIME NARRATIVES

UCHECHUKWU EVELYN MADU

ABSTRACT

Where "Maga" Falls, "Guyman" Go Wack is a Nigerian cybercrime slang that metaphorises scamming a "Maga", a potential victim. This sarcasm is often channelled towards the *maga*, whose "fall" is a "blessing" (wack) for the smart "*guyman*." The ambivalence of "*maga falls* and *guyman wack*" dominates the internet scamming discourse where the contemporary trickster, the *guyman*, not only exhausts the entire wittiness to entrap the victim to do his bid, but also trivialises the deadly crime scheme as a game of wits in order to boost his ego towards committing more crimes. This popular modern attitude, which appears to have streamed from an overrated admirable qualities of the trickster figure explains the morale of this study. I examine deceitful strategies in two selected cybercrime narratives of Igbo authors (a novel and a short story) as well as six selected Igbo trickster (Tortoise) tales in order to reveal the shared similarities of trickery strategies of con protagonists that are worlds apart, where the tricksters' egoism foreshadows self-imposed calamity. Using the Jungean Theory of Collective Consciousness, I reveal the belief of self-destruction as a traditional restraint measure to excessive opportunism where treachery constitutes a metaphor for brevity of life and other misfortunes.

INTRODUCTION

> At first, it was difficult. Composing cock-and-bull tales, with every single word an untruth, including 'is' and 'was'. Blasting SOS emails around the world hoping that someone would swallow the bait and respond. But I was probably worrying myself for nothing. They were just a bunch of email addresses with no real people at the other end anyway. Besides, who on this earth was stupid enough to fall prey to an email from a stranger in Nigeria. (Kingsley Ibe, *I do not Come to You by Chance*, 153)

Aligning the "maga fall mockery" to the excerpt above, *Maga* and *Mugu* are employed by cyber criminals to label their victims. The terminologies are the Nigerian pidgin designations for a "very big fool and extreme stupidity." Their origins are untraceable despite their popular usage across Nigeria. Also, very

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observable in Nigeria is the incorporation of such terminologies by the Nigerian music stars into their hip hop songs. Such examples are Kelly Hansome's breakout song, "Maga Don Pay" (2008) and Banky W's "Maga no Need Pay" (2010), featuring other top music stars like Omawunmi, and Cobams Asuquo. Both songs address the quick-money-narrative among the Nigerian youths. While Kelly Hansome's song has an undertone of celebrating instant wealth got from a *Maga*, Banky W. *et al.* song is an instigation to the youth to shun internet crime and embrace hard work. Among the Igbo, *Maga* and *Mugu* equate to "onukwu" and "iti boribo," which mean a dullard. "To fall *Mugu*," in Nigerian pidgin expression describes stupidly falling prey to a cunning scheme, while to be "chopped mugu" depicts clearing off someone's possession without any suspicion. "Guyman," on the other hand, connotes a smart player; in other words, a scammer and swindler. By sarcastically ascribing victims such names as "maga" (Suleiman, 2019), "mugu" (Nwubani, 161) and "lollipop" (Nwubani, 163) to victims, the internet *guymen* scammers express their paradoxical feelings of both disdain and essentiality of their victims. Such names also lead to self-admiration and adoration by the crime perpetrators as conquerors. *Scamming*, just like a baiting process, lures and encourages the target to swallow the bait. Victims are relished by the perpetrators because they "must play an active role in the process by providing personal information, sending money, keeping the activity secret, and fail to report it to the authorities" (Hanoch and Wood 2021). Victims also provide assurances "of a future, larger payoff" (Isacenkova *et al.* 2014: 1) and they ultimately willingly surrender over money, information or other valuable resources (Schaper and Weber 2012: 1). Therefore, the success of a game master in manipulating the rationality of a fellow individual to succumb to his wishes is soul uplifting and self-gratifying.

Recent scholarly works on scam have focused on classifying and exposing newer direction of cyber scams (Al-Nemrat 2010); scam strategies and the psychological characteristics of the victims and scammers victimisation (Coluccia *et al* 2020); causes and consequences of victims' gullibility (Borwell *et al.* 2021). This paper focuses on the oppressor's shenanigans in selected novels on Nigerian cybercrime as well as some selected Igbo trickster (Tortoise) tales in order to reveal the shared similarities of trickery strategies of con protagonists that are worlds apart and the impact of such strategies on the fraudsters. Also revealed from the study is the implication of the crime perpetrators' celebration of the colossal "fall" of the victim in Igboland. Lurking beneath the victorious scamming techniques, desperation for survival and ego boosting lifestyle of the criminals is the retributive punishment of "ihe onye metara o buru," "one pays for one's actions." A connection of the Tortoise trickster of the Igbo tradition and the contemporary con men also reveals this shared identity of one being the architect of one's life span on earth through one's actions. By using the Jungian Theory of collective unconscious, which emphasises inherited behavioural patterns which were hitherto embedded in the unconscious of a people, this study emphasises insensitive treachery as "dancing into the flame" (Nwaubani) among the Igbo.

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WHAT IS KNOWN ABOUT THE TRICKSTER AND THE IGBO TORTOISE

Trickster studies constitute an inexhaustible discussion in scholarship where the icon is described in various ways because Vecsey (1981: 162) explains that "the environment may differ and the society's attitude toward the tale may differ." By identifying the trickster figure as the guile survivor of an endangered and hostile environment, the Afro Americans and the Caribbean (Rickets 1966; Macmillan: 2013) trickery discourse focuses mostly on "slave resistance, diaspora survivals, and oppression against Blacks in the New World" (M'baye 2009: 3). In other words, B'rer Rabbit, Nancy and Bro Boar figures, which are presumed adoptions from Africa (Canonici 1995: ii) by the slaves, become scholarly bases for the critique of slavery, adaptation and Western imperialism. The trickster icons identify as social levelers, who through their wits could navigate social inequality and other racial biases from oppressors.

Canonici (1994) identifies three trickster characters in the Zulu culture. He (1994: 44) explains that the Chakijana of the Zulu culture, the slender mangoose, which is similar to the hare "represents the victory of intelligence over brute force, of small over big and powerful, brain prevailing over brawn, the extrovert ever ready to take advantage of the weak points of the opponents, who are condemned as stupid and unimaginative."

Canonici also associated the Zulu trickster figure, Hlakanyan, with "scattering with" and "sowing confusion." He manifests the unbridled confusion proceeding from the interference of the world of veld and forest into the human world of animality into humanity, of disorder into a strictly regulated society, where any physical abnormality is viewed as a sign of witchcraft (49).

Also, by associating the trickster with culture heroism (finding of a nation and political structure), the divine and creative (Guenther 2002: 13) nature of the trickster are portrayed. Guenther noted some of the trickster gods as Loki of Nordic mythology, Odin of Teutonic pantheon and Saint Peter and the devil in tricksters of folk Christians. Trickster figure, for this group of scholars is an inventor, whose existence is sustained by ritual (Wescot 1962). Among the people of Akan, Ghana, Vecsey (1981: 162; Pelton 1989) noted that "Ananse, and Nyame (the Sky God), who are both creation gods are related by blood. Depicting Ananse as the "perverting-alter-ego of Nyame, Vecsey claims that Ananse is always in conflict with the Supreme Being as "he attacks the very foundations of Akan people. Ananse, through his wisdom is ascribed the god of wisdom and knowledge because instead of hoarding his knowledge in the wisdom gourd, he disseminates them to all. Ananse is also credited with the creation of the moon, stars and agriculture in the Akan culture. Also, Obika and Eke (2014: 251) posit that Tortoise (*Mbe*)'s paradox in Igbo mythology is a represention of *Agwu*, which is the Igbo paradoxical god of wisdom and madness. *Agwu* for these researchers has two faces at the same time, the good and the bad. The good is for the innocent and well behaved. It is called "*mma agwu*" – evoking good (health and progress). The other one is referred to as *Ajo agwu* (2014: 248). The duo believes that this representation must be true or real to the Igbo nation to have informed the choice

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of Tortoise as its symbol. According to them; "a person's behaviour is guided by what he inherits from his people's world view and what he understands from his encounter with the world around him" (248). This conclusion, however, has little or no strong foundation in the Igbo folklore.

Significantly also, although *Eshu-Elegba* in the Yoruba culture of Nigeria is identified by some scholars as a trickster god of markets, conflict, temptation, protection and child giving (Wescott 1962: 336), Lawuyi (1990: 71), cautions on the misleading classification of the Yoruba *Esu* and Tortoise as examples of Yoruba tricksters because such classifications have no epistemological foundations in the Yoruba culture. He, however opines that as a "symbol of alter ego of the powerful" *Esu* exists "to reinforce the power of leadership rather than alter or destroy it." He concludes therefore that *Esu* is a "representation of a wish and/or a desire. For him also, the Yoruba trickster discourse is "a metaphor for life for it embodies human potentials, the vagueness and vagaries of life and reflects the tensions inherent in the process of becoming i.e in the struggle toward upward mobility (71)". This also coincides with Pelton (1989: 4) opinion that "the trickster depicts man as "a social enterprise" and "a sort of inspired handyman, tacking together bits and pieces of experience until they become what they are-a web of a layered being." Canonici (49), considering Hlakayan as a higher level of metaphor also points out that inasmuch as "Hlakayan" shares some parallels with the western trickster myths, it does not share the status of a demi-god apportioned to the trickster by some scholars.

On the identification of the trickster figure with solution seeking, Golovatina-Mora (2016; Mora 2016) highlight the role of the trickster in social activism. While Golovatina-Mora (2016: 563) depicts that by "enabling an externalization of the problems accompanying the process of individual and collective Self-development, the trickster provides for both the author and reader a shelter for reflection and a possible reconsideration of Self," Mora 2016: 519 portrays a reconstruction of the comic trickster icon as a tool for social accountability. Also, as a solution seeker, the trickster figure is associated with search for completeness against discomfort, disaster and instability, Woodward (1995). In line with social critiquing, this paper studies the Igbo trickster figure in relation to the crime of exploitation and oppression.

The Igbo are among the major ethnic groups in Nigeria. Geographically, they occupy the five Eastern States of Nigeria in West Africa. Socio-politically, they are referred as the South Easterners. The language spoken by the Igbo ethic group is also designated as Igbo and their major occupations include farming, fishing and trading. The Igbo are so cultural sensitive that most of their activities and identities have traditional and philosophical pedigrees. In other words, for every Igbo man, survival is a personal race and not a collective one as laziness begets poverty. Thus, *Aka aja aja n'ebute onu mmanu mmanu* (a soiled hand brings an oiled mouth), *ike kete o rie* (strength sustains itself) and *onye ruo, o rie* (one who works, eats) are popular proverbs among that emphasise hard work for life time sustenance. Highlighting this Ideology in the character, Unoka, Okonkwo's father, Achebe (1958) portrays that a carefree life style never guarantees a comfortable livelihood.

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Portraying this ideology of hard work and entrepreneurship through the ubiquitous Tortoise figure, the Igbo folktale fulfills the entertainment and didactic roles of "impacting the cultural ideologies, myths and legendary history of the land" (Emenyonu 2021: 12; Nwachukwu-Agbada 1991: 19; Epuchie and Amaechi 2009, Onuko and Ezuko 2012). Igbo folktales emphasise the trickster figure as a narrative changer, an entrepreneur, a hustler and a bush clearer. Exemplifying these qualities in the stories "Tortoise and the Drum" Achebe (1977) and "*Mbe na Ndi Mmoo na Igba nri n'ofe* (*Tortoise, The Ghosts and the Foo-foo and Soup Drum*," Ogbalu, 1975: 28), Tortoise embarks on a narrative changing adventure in order to reverse the gross challenges of the drought on his household and clan. In such manner, the Igbo believe in seeking change and innovations in challenge to poverty, initiating a business enterprise and clearing the bush, i.e. creating a pathway for other family members and relative. In other words, the following survival ideologies are synonymous with the Igbo: "*a naghi ano otu ebe ekiri mmonwu,* one does not stand in one position to watch the masquerade," "*mkpughari mkpghari ka e ji ere nwa mkpi, it is only by random display that the he-goat gets sold*," "onye ije ka onye isi awo mma, *the traveller is better than the grey haired*," and "*nwa agu anaghi ata ahihia, a cub cannot eat grass*." While the first three expressions centre on changing the present position and location to effect progress, the last emphasises re-tracing one's steps when the result is ineffective. In addition, migration for greener pastures and establishment of business enterprises are so synonymous with the Igbo that a popular expression among Nigerians has it that "a country that has no Igbo man must be grossly inhabitable." Thus, the Igbo trickster figure is most times a solution seeking migrant and an adventurer, who gambles with adaptation mechanisms. His sojourning gimmicks resonates Okpewho's (1990: 203) description of the trickster as "what is publicly feared but secretly coveted," an echo of René Girard's "mimetic desire" and implicit rivalries among the youth.

In contradiction to hard work, Tortoise also represents corruption of and inability to cope with the hard work-for-survival noble scheme of the Igbo philosophy. In this abused sense, swindling and treachery become mitigating tools for survival. The symbolic role of the folktale in upholding social stability in such desperate instances is highlighted by Uzochukwu (2001: 1) thus; "the folktale invariably contains some lesson which serves as a tool for correcting anti-social behaviours." And supporting Uzochukwu's assertion, Emenyonu (2020: 19) opines that "the significance of a folktale is that it demonstrates the logic of a behavior, and its vital implications and consequences for life in general." As is often the case, wickedness does not go unpunished in the moral world of the folktale. As the guilty is always punished, retribution is always a recurring theme. The implication is always a warning to people to adhere to the norms of the society or else they meet the fate of the guilty.

Most studies on the Igbo trickster align themselves to this basic role of correcting "anti-social behaviours" Uzochukwu (2001: 1); hence, among the Igbo, trickery, which translates as *aghugho*, has a dyadic conception based on the intent

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of the trickster. While the one that has a positive outcome is acclaimed as "cleverness", the other that is regressive or highly insensitive to human nature is rebuked. The preeminence of sensitivity to human nature over every other reasoning is portrayed in the popular story of Tortoise, Lion and Monkey among the Igbo. Lion falls into a pit and beckons on a passing monkey to save him. Monkey lets down its tail and draws up Lion to the surface, only for the Lion to jump on Monkey with the intention of devouring it. Tortoise, passing by, overhears Monkey's cry and asks to mediate on the matter. After Tortoise heard each side of the story, he asks Lion to demonstrate how he fell. In a bid to show how he initially fell, Lion falls back into the pit again and Tortoise advises Monkey to flee. Thus; ingratitude is rewarded with a reversal to the previous distasteful experience.

On the other hand, Tortoise signifies *aghugho*, a corruption of cleverness and nobility, which tends towards selfishness, egocentrism and inconsideration towards human nature. Accordingly, Ogbalu (2018: 14) notes that the Tortoise trickster asides his cleverness and positive survival instincts is "a rogue, a deceit and callous in justice." Portraying further the negative character traits, Ogbalu, studying the Igbo folktale opines that the trickster is a "representative of injustice, greed and wickedness in society (14)." In such cases, it attracts such condemnations as "*onye aghugho nwuo, onye aghugho elie ya* (*A prankster is buried by a prankster*)," *onye aghugho na-ala n'aghugho* (*A prankster is ruined by pranks*) and *Nkata na-ekpudo onye aghugho* (*A trickster will be covered by a basket*). Significantly, *aghugho* (cunning) among the Igbo is synonymous with self-destruction as expressions such as, "*I choro igbu onwe gi* (*Do you want to kill yourself?*) and *I choro ila ndu gi n'iyi* (*Do you want to ruin your life?*)" reprimand early detections of injurious trickery in a child. It is therefore under this category that the modern terminology of scam, which translates to corruption and abuse of cleverness, innovation, entrepreneurship in Igbo belongs.

Furthermore, "Tortoise illustrates the Igbo belief in "*o metara buru, whatever one sows he will reap retributive justice*" Ogbalu (2019: 110). This Igbo thought further extends to the resort to threats and banditry for livelihood out of laziness (Okodo 2011). Apparently, Igbo Tortoise, in its solution-seeking ventures, depicts the reward and punishment philosophy. It is also a symbol of peace in some parts of Igboland, where it is a major sacrificial meal offered to *Ala,* the Earth Deity for pacification in cases of desecration of land, like adultery (Madu 2016). Such explains the trickster's paradoxical portrayal in the Igbo tale where his cleverness against enemies and other adversities is rewarded, while his selfish schemes are punished.

Although the Igbo Tortoise trickster myth may coincide with the universal archetype of law breaking, trampling on customary usages, subversion of established social conventions and social leveling, the Igbo mythology is the Igbo trickster figure just like Canonici and Lawal have pointed out constitute metaphors for communicating the Igbo social values and the futility of evil to society. In other words, positive or negative reward is earned in line with the humane discharge of such roles. In other words, repercussions come either in one's life time or the future lineage. Thus the Igbo will say *O me mma na mma yi aga ma ome njo na njo yi aga*

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(*Good deed is always accompanied by the good, while evil deed is accompanied by evil).* In this way, equilibrium is achieved in the activities of the trickster. This quality is deficient in the Yoruba mythological *Ajapa*, Tortoise, which is merely "vilified for using his trickiness to subjugate characters smaller than he (like Snail or Baby Elephant)" (Odom 2013: 57).

Furthermore, the strong message of attraction of misfortune to oneself through one's actions as represented by the Igbo trickster distinguishes it from the universal autonomous and uncontrolled "villain, dupe, and hero" (Mwinlaaru and Nkasah 2018: 252) trickster figure.

SCAMMING IN THE CYBERCRIME WORLD AND BEYOND

Cybercrime, a technologically enhanced crime of the contemporary world, is described as capable of "inflicting massive commercial" damage (Sarre *et al.* 2018: 515) on individuals and organisations across the globe. The universality of the crime inspires interest in into the study as it involves a procurement of massive wealth and treasure from a subdued victim. Cybercrime thrives by deception and deceptive strategies known as scam.

Scamming, "a popular form of fraud in which the fraudster tricks the victim into paying a certain amount under the promise of a future, larger pay off" (Isacenkova *et al.* 2014: 1) has been explored in various ways by some scholarly critics. In Nigeria, scam is popularly known as 419, a derivation from Nigerian Constitution's Criminal Code Section-419, which covers any form of dubious activity. By identifying "419 as Nigerian scam" (Isacenkova *et al.* 2014: 1), just like most scholars do, there is an implicit reference of the scam history to Nigeria as a result of its early role in perpetuating the global scam email letters also designated as "Nigerian letters."

Some other critics outline scam as a platform where dubious romantic relationships are formed with the eventual aim of manipulating and extorting economic resources from victims (Coluccia *et al.* 2020: Cassiman 2019, Whitty and Buchanan 2015). Additionally, Whittaker and Button (2020: 1) disclose a specific kind of scam that deals with "the advertisement of a pet such as a dog or cat online with the purpose of enticing victims to make an advance fee deposit for pets and an array of other associated costs such as for the delivery of the animal." In this particular case, "an offender intends to collect payments for a pet despite having no intention of delivering it to the buyer (1)."

For Nigerian literary writers (Nwaubani 2009, and Okafor 2018), scamming is a strategic narrative changer, which mitigates economical disadvantages in a country bedeviled with financial and social inequalities. Feldner (2018: 102) notes that the protagonists of these literary works are "attracted by the opportunity to make a lot of money that could relieve their families of poverty." In the analysis of Teju Coal's "Every day for the Thief (2007)," Ribic (2019: 1) argues in line with the Nigerian authors that "email scam offers sensational perspective from which to survey the dramatic reconfigurations of African labour in the past 40 years." Ferguson (2012) introduces the readers to the world of internet where "lives

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intersect, worlds collide, a family falls apart. And it all begins with a single email." Emphasised in Ferguson's book is the global and magical role of scam emails in uniting people from distances apart as well as a contributive factor in the breaching of family and friendly trust.

Expressing scamming schemes in comparison with "legitimate product marketing strategies," Office of Fair Trading annual Report, United Kingdom (OFT, 2009, 12) makes a close reference to the manipulative expertise needed in convincing a buyer to settle for a product.

From the areas explored above, it is glaring that scamming, is a treacherous crime of dispossession that undermines the noble course of hard work. Therefore, scamming, in relation to the oppressor's self- destruction has been given little or no attention. This is the research gap that this paper intends to breach by studying the scamming strategies in relation with the Igbo Tortoise Trickster tales through the lens of Jungian theory of Collective Unconsciousness.

METHOD OF ENQUIRY AND THEORETICAL FRAME WORK

This study is a content analysis and library based research. The data is sourced from three primary narrative texts, namely: *Mbediogu: Ako bu Dike* (a collection of Igbo Tortoise tales) by F.C. Ogbalu (1975), *I do not Come to You by Chance*, a novel by Adaobi Tricia Nwaubani (2017), and "All our Lives" (2014), a short story by Tochukwu Okafor. The former deals with Advance Fee Fraud, while the latter, Okafor's "All our Lives" (2014), portrays romance scam dating. Some of the data, especially the ones on the Igbo Trickster drawn from *Mbediogu: Ako bu Dike* (a collection of Igbo Tortoise tales), were rendered in Igbo and will be transliterated for the analysis. Secondary critical works, journals are also employed for the close examination of the core texts. The information collected is subjected to further synthesis in order to buttress the argument of the study. The trickster motif of solution-seeking and search for completeness is the common focus of the texts and that necessitated their choices for exploration and evaluation. Also, the reverberation of self-damage as a punitive measure to egoistic opportunism in texts that are generations apart necessitated the adoption of the Archetypal Literary Criticism with emphasis on the Carl Jungean theoretical approach of Collective Unconsciousness (19).

Archetypal Literary Criticism analysis focuses on the repeated myths and Archetypes in the narrative symbols, images and character types in literary works. Jungean's archetype derives from the Latin noun *archetypum*, which is an adaptation of the Greek word *archétypon*, which in the adjective form is *archétypos*. The word is formed from the verb *archein* (beginning, origin) and the noun *typos* (model, form). In ordinary language, the term means "the original form" Braga (2016: 220). Archetypes are universal, inborn models of people, behaviours or personalities that play a role in influencing human behavior Cherry, (Kendra 2020). Concisely, Akporobaro (2004: 470) describes archetypes as "basic units or building blocks from which stories are generated by the process of selection and recombination." "Basic units," as elaborated further by Akporobaro,

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explains that "a murder is a murder but each one is unique because of the characters involved, the time of the murder, weapon, motive or circumstances of its committal" (470). In other words, the basic units of the trickster myth, which are deception, treachery, rule breaking and disguise could be deployed in accordance with a certain cultural belief. Such various social elements explain the distinctiveness of societies in relation to the trickster heroes.

CORRUPTION OF NOBILITY IN THE IGBO TALES AND CYBER CRIME NARRATIVES

In line with struggle for survival and completeness, tricksters devise deceptive strategies of subsistence against scarcity and adversity. These deceptive schemes ensure existence for both the folkloric and the modern tricksters. Identifying similar scamming strategies between the ancient and modern culture of the Igbo is the major focus of this section. While the ancient culture is represented by the Tortoise tales, the cybercrime novels represent the modern culture. Although the subject matter of the two novels, cyber fraud, falls under the same penile code, section 419, in the Nigerian constitution, Nwaubani's *I do not Come to You by Chance* (2017) highlights Advance Fee Fraud, whereas Okafor's *All our Lives* (2014) portrays romance scam dating. In the recurring motif of opportunist-victim relationship, which is the basic stereotype of the trickster schemes of both traditions; "two tongues" (lies), "sweet tongue" (persuasion), and masking the original archetype cut across the narratives.

"Two tonguing"

To be "two tongued" in Igbo describes *ónyé ókwú ási* (*a liar*). It talks about one who tells an untrue story in order to present a positive image of oneself for the utmost purpose of winning favour, treasure and admiration of the listener. "Lying," in this sense is equivalent to irony in the Western thought, portrays a discrepancy between thought and actions. This thought is in line with (Rudolph *et al.*'s (2005) claim that lie is usually adopted because "humans have a basic desire to be approved of by others or groups." Of particularly great importance in gaining the needed approval from people (Hewit *et al.* 2003) notes, is the skill of self-presentation. Most times, in order to present oneself positively and achieve set-up goals, lies are used to mask intention. Two tonguing is deployed by Tortoise in the story of "*Mbe na Ududo*, Tortoise and Spider" (Ogbalu 1975: 52-53) for a greedy intention.

Tortoise approaches *Ududo* (Spider) for friendship. On the course of the friendship, Spider sets a trap near Tortoise's house so that the trapped animal will be collected easily for him by Tortoise as lives close to the trap site. In reward for the friendly request made to *Mbe*, *Ududo* instructs *Mbe* to take only the captured small animals and give him the big ones. Mbe agrees to *Ududo*'s plans but out of greed he opts for the reverse of the instructions as highlighted in the excerpt:

O rue n'echi ya, onya ahu wee jide anu uku a na-akpo ocha. Mbe wee hu anu uku ahu tigbue ya wee kpokue Ududo si ya na onya ya e jide anu. Ududo jua ya si "O jidere gini?" Mbe si ya n'obu nwa anu nta. Ududo si ya wee rie (52).

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The following day, the trap caught a big animal, called, Ocha (an egret). Mbe saw the big animal and called up Ududo telling him that his trap has caught an animal. Ududo asked him, "What did it catch?" Tortoise told him that it was a very small animal. Ududo told him to eat it (52).

As the first plan works out for Tortoise, he continues collecting the large animals up until a prophesy bird reveals Tortoise's cunning practices to *Ududo*. The revelation of Mbe's cheatings to *Ududo* by the seer bird prompted *Ududo* to report the matter to a monster called *Ihilihi* and they together plan vengeance on Tortoise. *Ihilihi* entraps himself in *Ududo*'s trap and Tortoise, finding him there shakes with fear. He calls on *Ududo* for the first to collect a big animal. *Ududo*, who already knows the plan, refuses and asks him to deal with it as usual: "*Mgbe Mbe biara, egwu turu ya; o tikue Ududo si ya na onya ya mara anu uku. O si o nwebeghi mgbe o bula ya huru anu ukwu di otu a*. When Toroise came, fear overcame him: he called *Ududo* and told him that his trap caught a big animal. He reported that he had never seen such a huge animal before (53)." Ududo insisted that Tortoise to do to it what he had done to others.

Tortoise's actions in the story suggest covetousness bred from laziness. Unable to work hard and institute something on his own, Tortoise probably targets Spider, who has a progressive occupation as hunter. Tortoise implicitly uses the friendship as a decoy to get closer to Spider for a selfish purpose. This action is in line with Toma *et al* (2008)'s opinion that "individuals sometimes can select information about an image strategically and then positively describe their own image." With the pre-information on Spider's occupation, Tortoise's true personality is masked with falsehood in alliance with Spider's tastes, which earns him Spider's trust. However, Tortoise's white lies on the type of animal caught by the trap further reveals his real intention for the friendship, which is a selfish one. *Ududo*'s rejection of the trapped animal humiliates Tortoise and makes him face the tortures of *Ihilihi*. The monster, being outstandingly heavy, compels Tortoise to carry him back home as a punishment for his treacherous actions against *Ududo*.

In another story, "*Mbe na Ngwere* Tortoise and Lizard" (Ogbalu 1975: 5-6), Tortoise features paradoxically features as the victim. There was salt scarcity in the animal kingdom and *Mbe* was nominated to go and purchase it from a distant land. When *Mbe* bought the salt, and was drawing it home, Lizard came from the bush and cut off the bag of salt from the long rope. Mbe reported the matter to conflict resolvers and Lizard claimed that "*n'obu akpa nnu O huru n'uzo maka na Mbe e bughi ya n'isi kama na o na-adokpu ya adokpu the bag of salt was found by him at the roadside*" because Tortoise was not carrying the bag on his head but dragging it on the ground." The case was discharged in favour of Lizard, who was acquitted because of Tortoise's inability to establish a case of ownership. Another day it was raining and Mbe saw Lizard hiding his head inside a hole in the ground to shield himself from the rain and at the same time exposing his tail. Mbe went and cut it off. Lizard took the matter to the judges and *Mbe* also claimed that it was a tail he saw on the road. Mbe was set free because he was not found guilty.

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In this second story, Lizard uses two tonging which is deceitful and convincingly enough to win himself an unmerited favour. Lizard's actions also aligns with (Schneider 1981; Leary and Kowalski 1990)s' claim, that "Impression management is not only about controlling and manipulating information about oneself disclosed to others but also the process of managing one's own impressions of what others perceive." Lizard, symbolising inability to sustain oneself productively, resorts to robbery for livelihood. He uses lies to cover up his crime and solicit the approval of his people, which he actually gets. Mbe, unable to secure justice from his people, intuitively uses retaliation to ensure that *Ngwere* gets a commensurate punishment for his offences.

In "All Our Lives," the multiple personas foretell their two tongued nature by stating their major intention for enlisting into the dating sites: "Do not think we are searching for love. Love does not exist in this city. We are men of the night. Our reward is money (18)." In other words, it is obvious that whatever they will tell their lady and male lovers are all lies. As observed by (Fieldman *et al* 2002) in a study on dating, "that people are likely to engage in lying behaviors to appear competent or desirable when first meeting a likable partner." Also, in online dating environments, lying behaviors to partners convince individuals that they are getting into a more positive situation than they actually are (Hanock 2007). An example of such lies that portray personas as desirable females to their male victims is depicted in the excerpt:

> "We tell these old men that we wish to come to the States, to Paris, to London. We beg them. We say we will be their slaves. We say we will let them have us any way they know how to. We say we are dying to bring their children into the world (20)."

Also worthy of mention as two tonguing in *I do not Come to You by Chance*, is Kingsley Ibe's over-used personalised introductory notes of, "Dear Friend" and "I do not come to you by chance," in all his 419-scam letters of stashed looted fund (Nwaubani 153-154). People with a high level of need for approval paint themselves in a positive light (Scheider and Turkat 1975). Apart from coinciding with the title of the novel, the introduction has the intention of bridging the gap of strangeness between the scammer and the victim. Similarly, the ridiculous names such letters bear, for instance "OSONDIOWENDI (157)," which means "pleasing some and annoying others" in Igbo Language and clear pointers of fakeness to the victims, are overlooked.

A display of two tonguing is also employed by Cash Daddy in his telephone conversation with Mr. Moore, a foreign investor, regarding the progress of the sham oil licence deal with the Nigerian minister of petroleum (102). In order to sustain Mr. Moore's interest in the transaction, Cash Daddy deceitfully details Mr. Moore about a conversation he never had with the minister. In other words, "lying in order to sway individuals to agree with one's opinion, which is different from others' in order to win others' goodwill" (Freidman *et al* 2002). He also uses a real case of the minister's medical trip to Germany to treat his dislocated ankle to trick Mr. Moore into believing him as the reason for the postponement of a scheduled meeting with him. A strong assurance to securing the petroleum licence

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made to Mr, Moore by Cash Daddy, strengthens his commitment towards sending money as requested by the con men. Also, Ben, a member of the syndicate sends out letters claiming that he was the head of a committee that tendered for and recently completed some construction work on the Port Harcourt Refinery (Nwubani 162).

Sweet Tonguing and "Head washing"

Sweet tongue (*íré ụsọ*) among the Igbo signifies the art of persuasion. Someone who has a sweet tongue is powerful because of the unique capability of re-shaping other people's thought patterns through deceit. "Head washing" on the other hand is ability to convince and manipulate a victim to an oppressor's advantage. Manipulation is further defined by Buss, *et al*, (1987: 1219) "as one means by which environments are altered to correspond to characteristics of individuals." Also, Bereczkei (2017) links manipulation to Machiavellian behavior, "where the oppressors strive to be the winner of the situation and aim at gaining the largest profit possible." Their goal-oriented behaviour is mostly motivated by external factors such as money, power and influence. Machiavellians only enter deception against others when the circumstances make cheating and manipulation profitable. By exploiting the opportunity of telling people what they want hear, sweet tonguing, oppressor manipulate their victims into agreement with their views. In the narratives under study, "sweet tonguing and head washing" are depicted thus.

In the story of *Mbe na Ehi Eze*, Tortoise and King's Cow (Ogbalu 1975: 47), Tortoise, through head washing ropes Lizard (*Ngwere*) into the crime of killing of the King's cow. Tortoise, unable to control his taste for the meat, directs his son to slay the King's cow. Afterwards, Tortoise instructs the son to scream from the cow's stomach that the meat belongs to Tortoise alone. The child does as instructed and Tortoise feigns ignorance of the whole plan. He is later asked to carry the dead cow's meat alone in order to forestall evil. *Ngwere*, on the discovery of Tortoise's cunning as the son creeps out of the dead cow's anus, screams with great astonishment in awareness of Tortoise's evil plan. Tortoise calmly invites Lizard to joining to devouring of the meat. As they eat together, Tortoise sweet talks *Ngwere* thus:

> *Enyi m Ngwere, o bughi nani di na nwunye na-enyerita ibe ha nri n'onu; ka anyi nyerita onwe anyi anu n'ihi na enyi anyi mere ugbu a abughi kwa ihe e ji akpa amu. Ihunanya anyi epenarighi nke di na nwunye. My friend Lizard, it is not only husband and wife that feed each other; let us feed this meat to each other because this friendship we have now is not a joke. Our love is not less than that of husband and wife.*

Tortoise succeeds in his wicked plot of cutting Lizard's tongue with a sharp blade when it was his turn to feed Lizard so that he does not tell what he saw. This act attracts his banishment from the land.

Furthermore, in "*Mbe na Nkita, Jere Mgba*, Tortoise and Dog attend a Wrestling Match" (Ogbalu 1975 62-68), there is a great famine in the land and Dog always had some meat in his house. He also looks plump and clean. Tortoise inquires from Dog the secret behind the good look and Dog introduces him to a wrestling match, where the winner keeps the loser hostage. Once Tortoise gets

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there, he picks a big he-goat to wrestle with because he needs a very fat one that will be good for his body "*Ngwa ngwa Mbe wee wuputa wunara otu nnuku mkpi n'ihi na o na-acho nke mara abuba rinne ga-adi ya onu mma. Swiftly, Tortoise jumps on a huge he-goat because of his desire for a fatty and tasty meat* (65)." Tortoise's "big eyes" blind folds him to weak strength. The ease at which Dog conquer and captivate his opponent makes Tortoise think the wrestling was a walk-over. Greed blinds him to his size and he was conquered several times before Dog intervenes to fight extra for his bail-out. Tortoise's greed starts growing and gives to his lusting for Dog's acquired goats. On their way home, Tortoise cut one of the ears of his goat, ate one and gave Dog to eat too. Dog, Knowing Tortoise very well refuses to chew the meat. He simply left in one side inside his mouth. Dog's presentation of the meat each time Tortoise asks for it annoys Tortoise because his scheme seems to be failing. As they get to the river to have a bath, Tortoise initiates the idea of feeding each other with water. During Tortoise's turn, he forcefully pours the water into Dog's mouth and the meat washes down his throat. Tortoise starts demanding his meat again and Dog fails to produce it. Tortoise mounts pressure on Dog, who in order to let peace reign, lets him have all the goats he won as compensation. Through the perpetrator's persuasive skills, victim's trust is bought and pounced upon at the right time. Tortoise feels proud and accomplished at himself after he had collected all of Dog's goats after the wrestling match. Dog, sad and crestfallen, narrates his ordeal to a *dibia* (native doctor), who advises him on what to do. Dog is advised by the *Dibia* to mould a sticky man with foo-foo and place inside Tortoise's house. Tortoise goes home and feels insulted by the statue's "arrogance" of ignoring his greetings. He starts beating, slapping and kicking the statue. But each of his part of the body parts used in hitting the image gets stuck. Dog creeps out from his hiding place and collects back all his goats. Tortoise, after he has rested from his disgrace retaliates what Dog did by moulding an image of a man, which he keeps in Dog's house. Once dog sees it, he invites his wife to prepare a very delicious soup, which they used to devour the foo-foo image. Tortoise, unable to contain his humiliation begs Dog for bits of the foo-foo. But Dog refuses telling him that: "*me m bọrọ abụghi ajọ ihe*, vengeance is not a crime" (68).

Scammers' sweet tonguing talent also known as "*mugu* packaging" in Nwabuani, () is such a powerful talent that it is popularly attributed to supernatural *juju* (charm) hypnotisation of the victim by the prankster.

In *All our Lives*, the multiple personas portray sweet-tonguing by accepting all the proposals made by their lonely-lady-victims. Appeals to "bring along their parents" and "younger siblings who have been sent off as apprentices" (19) on their visits to the "rich" countries were accepted. The victims were also promised a fulfillment of all their fantastical cravings by the swindlers, whom are believed to be caring and compassionate. They ask:

> If they can bring their favourite aunts and uncles. *Do they make masala chai in Texas? Can a decent meal of bobotie be bought in the streets of London? Baby, I hear there are tall tall buildings and many Rocky Mountains and the weather is always freezing cold in Canada, will there be gardens at least to plant ukazi?* We tell them, *Yes, yes, yes* (19).

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Such sweet tonguing is portrayed in Chance when Cash Daddy brain washes Kingsley to join his 419 syndicate. By flattering Kingsley's smartness and downplaying the crime of 419 as a lesser crime to murder and adultery; Cash Daddy strokes Kingsley's ego towards becoming a meMber of the crime syndicate. Also through rubbing Kingsley's poverty stricken family on his face, Cash Daddy indoctrinates Kingsley into the reality that his own "poverty is a choice" which he "has made for himself." (132) For Cash Daddy, education is a waste if it does not do its supposed duty of getting rid of poverty in one's household. Kingsely's eventual decision to join the fraudsters depicts a successful head wash from Cash Daddy.

Also, under the guise of the Minister of Aviation of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Cash Daddy "washes" Wintabottom's head (a foreign investor victim) with the "Igbo marginalization" (203) injustice perpetuated by the government against the South Eastern Nigeria. He sweet talks Wintabottom into thinking himself as part of the epoch-making event of achieving equity for the Igbo through the construction of an airport for them. By emphasising Wintabottom's ties with Africa and his neutrality from Britain and Germany, Cash Daddy guarantees Wintabottom of his suitability for the role. In addition, Cash Daddy mentions his "Northern pedigree" as his dispassionate proof of equity struggle. Being a con artist, his imposter role was performed to the admiration of his cohorts.

Kingsley's letter to Mr Hooverson (a foreign client) impersonating Shehu, the son of the Late Nigerian Head of State, Gen sani Abacha, portrays a sweet tonguing demand to Hooverson's emotions. The letter requests Hooverson's assistance to act as a beneficiary to "Shehu's sister's money, which is stashed in a European bank. He is to withdraw the money in cash and pay it into a new account then subsequently send it in tranches to other of his accounts in his home country. Twenty percent of the total sum of money will be his share after the transaction.

Kingsley's suggestion of a greeting code "Aluta continua" (177) is welcomed by Hooverson as it serves as "a bond of trust and comradeship" between them. It also reassures Hooverson of the "honesty" of the business deal because he feels carefully selected for the role. Kingsley adequately emphasizes to him; "that it is owing to frustrations and betrayals from people very close to my family that we are throwing caution to the wind and trusting you despite the fact that we have never met (178)."

Identity Masking

Identity masking describes the distortion of the original body for selfish gains. This tactics is used by Tortoise in the story of *Mbe na Osa*, Tortoise and Squirrel (Ogbalu 1977: 70-73). In order to solve the problem of famine, all the animals agree to Tortoise's suggestion of killing the aged mothers to feed the young. Squirrel hides his mother in heaven and he visits her often to be fed by the mother. As a result of the regular feeding, squirrel always looks fresh in spite of the striking hunger in the land. Tortoise cunningly extracts from Squirrel the information his mother is still alive and talks Squirrel into accompanying him to pay the mother a visit. As they go to pay Squirrel's mother, "*Mbe wee gee nti nke*

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oma, wee riba okwu nile nke ahu ama. Tortoise listened carefully and learnt the song code" (72) for opening the door of heaven. They are well entertained and taken good care of by Squirrel's mother.

Next day, as Squirrel goes into the forest to eat palm nut, Tortoise gathers all the animals together and divulges the secret of Squirrel's mother being alive to them. They all follow him to the forest and Tortoise assumes Squirrel's self by imitating the song and the voice to perfection. Mother Squirrel thinks it is his son and throws down a rope, as usual for him to climb up. Tortoise and all the animals clutch at the rope and were already climbing very fast when Squirrel, who had been notified of the goings-on by the "Prophesy Bird", appears. Squirrel screams to his mother with a very loud voice and tells her to cut the rope as he is not the one on the rope. Mother Squirrel cuts the rope and all fall from heaven and died.

Squirrel's voice is copied by Tortoise to gain entrance into Mother Squirrel's house in heaven with the rest of the animals. Although Mother Squirrel was already deceived into letting them in, Squirrel's timely presence prevented the materialization of the scheme. Tortoise's imposter representations in the stories are comparable to the "mystery lovers" in Okafor's *All our Lives* and the mystery prince/princess, who is stuck with ill-gotten-wealth in Nwabuani's *I do not come to You by Chance.*

In Okafor's story of becoming "All our Lives" (2007, 17) the multiple personas from the Southeastern Nigeria migrate to the city in search of "a better life." Their continuous stay in their various villages seems hopeless because of heightened frustrations, joblessness and unfulfilled childhood dreams. In order to identify with the new life style, they take new names:

> We can be Matt, Jason, Alex, Garth, Arthur. We can be twenty, twenty-one, twenty-two. We can come from London, New York, Paris, or any other exotic place our fingers can never locate on a map. We can be tall, athletic, broad, sinewy, thick. Our hair is auburn, rooty blond, steel grey. We can speak American English, garnishing our sentences with "wanna" and "gonna"; flecks of "fuck," "holy fuck," "shit," "damn" or "nigger". We act like we own stretches and stretches of land, stately homes, estates, penthouses (17).

Personifying the fake bodies downloaded from the internet, the young migrants who have become internet scammers parade themselves as rich men in order to woo rich lonely women on line. Plans to swindle money from such women are set once the relationship is established. By telling the lovers fake stories of how they are unable to withdraw a huge amount of money from their banks at the moment, they expect to be loaned some money by the female lovers. The relationship, however, ends if nothing promising comes out of it or the site account is shut down once the loan is received. The target of the young men personas is shifted to "old white men, with streaks of greying hair and lined skin" (Okafor: 20), as they change into women seeking love from the lonely aged men. Much later in the novel, the bodies of the young men are reconstructed as gays in pursuit of homosexual victims. It is through this medium of fake bodies, that the scammers are able to manipulate the victims' emotions, earn their trust before pouncing on the targeted treasure.

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Also in, *I do not Come to You by Chance*, Kingsley Ibe, a promising graduate of Chemical Engineering fails to secure a job after his university education. His family, already impoverished by the Nigerian hyper-inflation economy and a sickly father is left with nothing after the death of the bread winner. He joins a 419 scam syndicate in order to cater for his family's basic needs. The fraudulent organization deploys the stolen body strategy in different manners. In one among the scams – the type Chiluwa (2009) refers to as "deceptive fortunes bequeathing information," a victim's help is needed to retrieve a dumped Millions of dollars trapped in an international bank. In this scam type, the victim is promised a good percentage of the money upon the retrieval of the fund. In the novel, Kingsley goes to borrow money from his "Uncle Boniface" (a childhood house-help in their house) in order to offset his sickly father's hospital bills.

On one of such borrowing visits to Uncle Boniface, popularly known as "Cash Daddy", Kingsley becomes aware of Boniface's occupation-419. Kingsley's eyes catch a purported letter of request for assistance written by the "Cash Daddy's group" in the disguise of one "Professor Ignatius Soyinka, the Astronautics Project Manager of National Space Research and Development Agency (NASRDA) (108)." In the letter, "Soyinka" claims that a colleague of his, "Marshall Nnamdi Ojukwu (AVM Ojukwu), the first ever African to go into space," was trapped up there. He also claims that Ojukwu could not return with his crew members because of racial discrimination - he is a black man and his space is given a cargo, which is considered more important to the Soviet military space station. "Professor Soyinka" then solicits the help of the receiver to access AVM Ojukwu's accumulated flight benefits of "almost $35,000,000 (USD) that was being held in trust at the Lagos National Savings and Trust Association" (108).

Masked scheme is further portrayed in Kingsley's first scam email (153), which reveals a concocted story that emanates from a "widow" of the ex-Nigerian Head of State, Gen Sani Abacha. Kingsley, impersonating Hajia Mariam Abacha, seeks the sympathy of the victim by narrating the ordeal meted on her family by the present Head of State. "She" also solicits help in recovering hidden money in a foreign account. Upon the recovery of the money, the victim will receive a certain percentage of the money after playing the role of next of kin to the deposited fund.

Also, in the same novel, Wizard-a male character and member of Cash Daddy's scam conglomerate – engages himself in online relationships with "randy foreigners he met in chat rooms (163)." In one of his escapades, his disguise as "Suzie" attracts a marriage proposal from a man in Salt Lake City, Utah whom he promises to pay a visit from East Windsor, New Jersey. In one of such appointed visits, "she" suddenly informs him that she was just on her way to Nigeria on a business trip as a make-up artist. Obviously, Wizard, a full-fledged man sits comfortably in a small office in Umuahia, Nigeria, punching profusely on his laptop!

In the imposter body of a "lady" on a "business trip," Wizard is able to swindle the man. He cooks up a story about his passport being stolen at the airport and how he is left with nothing. With wizard's false American accent, pretentious dilemma and a push on the lover to show him true love, he is able to manipulate

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the victim into sending him $4000. Despite the fact that the American victim-lover nothing had nothing in his cheque account at the moment, he gets some from his credit card to replace it once he has cashed the cheques (163).

Implications of Treachery and Exploitation in Igboland

***Mbute ike* (harvest of power)**

In line with Jungean's Collective Unconscious theory, which implies that archetypes are everywhere wearing the different clothes of the culture they are found in, it is observable that apart from the trickster figure of the Igbo being associated with desperation for survival it also exhibits traits of *Mbute ike* (harvest of power). Power harvest signifies sudden social strength and power driven by excessive crave for instant change in terms of wealth, power, glamorous lifestyle over other conditions of life. (Jordan 2001; Ellis; Tade and Aliyu 2011). These desires are obviously connected with insensitivity and egocentrism as represented in their "two tonging", "sweet tonguing" and "masking of reality" strategies. In other words, there is an obvious shift from the noble purpose of coping to coveting. Commenting on the consequence of such activities, Ogbalu (2018:20) claims that:

> The activities of these tricksters in our Nigerian society are temporal. For the tricksters' life is always in great danger. They never live long. Their minds are never at rest for they continue to live in fear of being caught by law enforcement agency. In some cases, they die mysteriously (20).

In support of Ogbalu, (Okodo 2011) also argues that "Inhuman ventures are sacrilegious in the Igbo culture and no reason can suffice for callousness against humanity." The consequence of the villainous activities is on the oppressors is represented textually as self – destruction with regard to vengeance, instant death, incarceration, low self-esteem, *onye aghugho nwuo, "onye aghugho elie ya a prankster is buried by a prankster"* and *"otu aka ruta mmanu a finger that touches oil"* philosophies.

Instant death and madness

Contrary to the common knowledge among the members of the 419 syndicate in *Ido not Come to You by Chance* that the instant death of Cash Daddy was as a result of food poison by his chef, Nwaubani's deployment of the death is in alignment with the Igbo morality principle that no evil goes unpunished. The intrigue of an "invincible Cash Daddy" that could not stop his instant death depicts the Igbo saying that *"Ihe ka nte bakwuru nte n'onu" what is more powerful than the frog has pursued it into its burrow."* It is therefore implicit from the text that Cash Daddy's death is beyond his powers and his death is structured to curtail his gubernatorial intention, glamourisation of, exploiting and indoctrinating young minds into evil. Among his damaging evils in the text is using the illness of Kingsley's father and poverty to sweet-talk naïve Kingsley into crime. Inasmuch as it may be a favourable argument that Nwaubuani's narration is a depiction of treachery as a consequence of a system failure, which is testified by in Cash Daddy's philanthropist use of the ill-gotten wealth, there is also a laudable

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entrenchment of the Igbo belief that no gravity of adversity justifies treachery. Although, Kingsley and Wizard appear to be left out of the punishment at the moment, theirs was just a case of mere numbered days as well put in Igbo "*iko ha iju*, the filling of their cups to the brim (at the appropriate time)." In the same manner, cases of adverse mischief in the folktales are sometimes avenged by the death of the oppressor and other irreparable injuries as punitive reminders as seen in the death of Tortoise in "Tortoise and Squirrel" and the cutting of Lizard's tail in the "Stolen salt story."

Health wise, "Lying may be associated with indicators of emotional adjustment, such as depression, stress, and loneliness" (Engels *et al.* 2006). Likewise, this result indirectly implies that lying self-presentation requires more emotional labor, which can have a significant effect on depression. "Facebook research also identified the effects of lying behavior, which is positively related to psychological factors such as anxiety" (Wright *et al.* 2018). Thus, lying self-presentation is expected to have an impact on depression. These medical positions are relatively unconnected to the Igbo association of some cases of "madness" and "depressions" with "*ihe onye metere* whatever one sews, he reaps" repercussions of one's treacherous actions."

***"Onye aghugho nwuo onye ahgugho e lie ya*, a prankster buries a prankster"**

This expression signifies out-witting the prankster and nailing the trickster figure with counter pranks. This philosophy is displayed in the cutting of Lizard's tail by Tortoise in the folktale. Nwaubani also deploys the thought in the scambaiting pursuit where, Azuka (a member of the syndicate) becomes a victim of his Iranian *Mugu* as he disappears in Iran during his trip to strengthen his ties with his Iranian with the victim for further swindling ventures. Also the incessant incarceration of the multiple persona of "All of Our Lives" (21) points to the restlessness and discomfort that treachery attracts to itself as pointed out by Ogbalu (2018:20). An extract highlighting the social frustrations of criminals from "All Our Lives" (21) has it thus:

> The city is spitting us out.it has had enough of us. The police want to take us off to cells that smell shit and never see daylight. The people are burning our hopes and demanding our heads. We are fleeing. We are placeless. The city no longer recognizes us. The skies burst open, drenching the littleness that is left of us. We leave our dreams behind. We cross the city's border. We take up new lives.

"*Otu aka ruta mmanu* a finger that touches oil"

"When a finger touches oil, it spreads to the rest" is an Igbo expression that metaphorises the punishment of a family, pedigree or lineage by the crime of a person. Okoye (2011) explains this expression in relation to the Igbo "concept of causality in which they believe that nothing happens without a cause." In that regard, he argues that every action of *onwe* self is influenced by mainly blood and not by *Omuma* (learning). Similarly, Obioha (2020) describes the expression as "incurring consequences not only on the individual but also the community."

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In *I do not Come to You by Chance,* Uncle Boniface, Cash Daddy, an illegitimate son of Kingsley Ibe's grandfather, was rejected by the family in reaction to uncontrolled sexual escapade by the grandfather. Boniface is offered a home by Kigsley's father and unfortunately the sins of his father catches up with him as his corrupt lifestyle is made manifest early despite the decency of Kingsley Ibe's house offers him. His premature love letters to his girlfriends (66) and his mixture of water and sugar to replace drunk contents of Ginger ale in Kingsley's mother's shop (94) are textual testifiers of his father's "finger that touched oil." Also the rejection of Kingsley's gifts by his mother in protest of Kingsley's entanglement with Cash Daddy indicate struggles to wrestle his son off Boniface (Cash Daddy)'s 419 occupation. Her constant reminder to Kingsley to engage himself with a decent job (173) is intended to reunite him with the integrity of his pedigree in order to forestall any calamity on himself or his pedigree just like Boniface's.

CONCLUSION

The narratives in both traditions portray the tricksters as opportunists, exploiters and manipulators of their victims for their personal gains. The victims, on the other hand, are depicted as naïve, confidential and unable to look beyond the moment. Using recurrent dishonest strategies of stolen bodies, two tonguing, head washing and give and take, the tricksters inflict perpetual pains on their innocent and unsuspecting victims. The victims' honesty, gullibility and naivety are sometimes counter-productive as these are played upon by the adventures, who hop on the next target with the success of the previous scam. Such victories as seen in the texts are highly celebrated by the tricksters and such celebrations in the contemporary Igbo society are designated as *mbúté* and *mvọtá iké* (harvest of strength), where *ike*, which transliterates as "strength" basically connotes (power) that comes from unexplainably instant accumulation of too much wealth. *Íbúté iké* is also slang among internet scammers who desire instant/sudden massive wealth and it metaphorises the ability to wield power and command life-changing power, increased social power, pride, enjoyment and the feeling of superiority. However, unknown to the oppressors is that their celebrations of conquests are implicit performances of their swansongs in the Igbo Philosophy.

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Ion Taloş, *Împăratul Traian şi conştiinţa romanităţii românilor. Cultura orală şi scrisă din secolele XV-XX* [Emperor Trajan and the Consciousness of the Romanity of Romanians: oral and written culture from the 15th-20th centuries], Cluj-Napoca, Editura Şcoala Ardeleană, 2021, 426 p., ISBN 978-606-797-739-4

With each of his books, Ion Taloş, *Privatdozent* and professor at the University of Cologne (since 1985), former researcher at the Institute of Linguistics in Cluj, then visiting professor of the Faculty of European Studies at Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca, provokes the joy of the heart and the delight of the spirit of the one who reads him. Born in Prodăneşti-Sălaj, in 1934, educated at the University of Cluj, folklorist, ethnologist, anthropologist, culturologist, comparatist of international renown, Ion Taloş devotedly served the Romanian culture and science, to whose matrix he remained closely linked, "from youth to old age", although, now at a venerable age, the professor shows an enviable spiritual youth or, better said, to be admired, despite the blows of life, which have not bypassed him lately (with discretion he notes, on the guard page of the volume we comment on here, "In memory of the day of January 18, 1964, when Ion-Florin was born and «when I asked I believed him on earth»... recalling the birth of the much loved son, who bore as baptismal name the names of his inconsolable parents (Ion and Florica), leaving, too early, "from the world with longing to the one without longing".

The study of *Emperor Trajan and the Consciousness of the Romanity of the Romanians. Oral and written culture from the XV-XX centuries* (2021) is the shining dome of the scientific edifice elaborated by Ion Taloş in over 60 years of intense research activity in the field of culture (popular, oral first of all), if we take as the debut year the year 1960 (*In the footsteps of the popular poet Veronica Găbudean*, "Revista de folclor" 5/1960), as specified in the "Bibliography", from *Romania Occidentalis/Romania Orientalis*, homage volume dedicated to univ. prof. Dr. (Festschrift für) Ion Taloş (Publishing House of the Foundation for European Studies, Mega Publishing House, 2009, p. 17-31), in which are recorded, in the section "Monographs/Monographien", eight titles, at "Studies and articles", 128 titles, at "Editions and translations", 10 titles, to which must be added other remarkable achievements of the great scientist, appeared after this date – *Omul şi leul. Studii de antropologie culturală* (Editura Academiei Române, 2013) and *Folclor spaniol/sefard în România. File de istorie culturală* (Editura Hasefer, 2017). An *Opera*, as it can be seen, of large sizes and of great depths, which made Ion Muşlea, one of the beginning mentors of the great folklorist/ethnologist and anthropologist/culturologist of later on, to foresee, based on the studies published so far (1965) that "Ion Taloş will soon be a name with weight in Romanian folklore". Foresight that came true.

As I have said on the many occasions when I have written about the exemplary work of our great contemporary, Ion Taloş is the follower of *the well-done thing*, of

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the definitive, as shown by his incomparable monographs about fundamental themes of the Romanian folklore – *The Craftsman (Master) Manole: contribution to the study of a European folklore theme*, I, Minerva Publishing House, 1973 and Idem, *Corpusul variantelor româneşti*, 1997, *Cununia fraţilor şi Nunta Soarelui. Incestul zădărnicit în folclorul românesc şi universal*, 2004, *Omul şi leul. Studiu de antropologie culturală*, 2013, anticipated by a communication at the Romanian Academy, *The fight with the lion: myth and initiation in Romanian folklore*, 2007, to which is added a well-documented essay on *Spanish/Sephardic Folklore in Romania: tabs of cultural history*, 2017, mentioned above.

What is at stake is not only to reaffirm such a truth, but also to contradict a point of view reiterated by some of the old ones, but also by historians from newer times, such as Lucian Boia, who "explicitly deny the existence of the Roman conscience of the Romanians", defending the thesis "on the primacy of some Western intellectuals in establishing our belonging to Romanity" (p. 21-22). Ion Taloş is joined by an authoritative historian, the president of the Romanian Academy, Ioan-Aurel Pop, who rejects the opinion of another great scientist, the historian Constantin Daicoviciu, who claimed that "the Romanian elites learned about our Latin origin from the Italian humanists", and more recently certain experts (among which, in later years, professor Lucian Boia) "have concluded that our Daco-Roman origin is a cult myth, planned by nationalist historians of the Modern and Contemporary Age" (Ion-Aurel Pop).

Taloş's thesis, as seductive as it is and difficult to be accepted at first glance, emphasizes the millenary memory of the village and of its inhabitants, who would have kept in its depths the memory of Emperor Trajan, the conqueror of Dacia, which he populated with his countrymen, the Roman colonists, whose mixture, from whose cohabitation with the Dacian women, resulted the Romanian people. Perhaps our "summary" does not faithfully reproduce Taloş's thesis, perhaps – certainly – it is more subtle in its essence, especially when the millenary memory of the people did not materialize in historical stories, but in memories of the great constructions of the Trajan era: "some of the oral traditions regarding the Trajan constructions force us to see their origins in Roman antiquity and to accept that they crossed the Middle Ages and reached as far as we; other traditions were created over time, around these constructions or, in other words, the constructions constituted the point of departure for literary-folkloric creations throughout the two millennia" (p. 23). And, further, on the same thread of the demonstration: "Oral tradition (...) was formed naturally, based on the existing material evidence: the bridge, the road, the waves, the fortresses, or Trajan's gate" (p. 24).

With the ability and consistency of a true scientist, Ion Taloş gathers and combines historical, linguistic, widely cultural information to configure the context that could have conceived Trajan the emperor and conqueror of Dacia, bearing the mythical insignia of a founder, crossing the centuries, miraculously preserved in the memory of his great-great-great-grandchildren from the Danube and the Carpathians, that, confirms the archival documents, "it is spoken about Traian in any peasant hut", as it results from the answers to the four questionnaires put into circulation by Al.I. Odobescu (1871), B.P. Hasdeu (1884-1885), Nicolae Densuşianu (1893, 1895), Ion Muşlea (1934). "Even if the four questionnaires pursued specific purposes and, with the exception of the Densuşianu's

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Questionnaire, they referred only indirectly to Trajan, they brought a very valuable folkloric material regarding the oral tradition of the great emperor, material that has not yet been sufficiently valued" (p. 54).

Factual history does not ignore (nor would it have any way) Trajan's loser, King Decebalus, also areolated with legendary features, the two forming a couple inalienable to historical stories stuffed with mythological motifs. Despite the relatively limited presence, in time, of Trajan, as a natural person, on the land of the old Dacia, the material sources leave room for an ample process of "Traianization of the Dacian land": "The collective memory kept memories regarding Trajan's bridge over the Danube, at the Pratul, where the victory over Decebalus was celebrated, at the Romans' Gate, at Trajan's Table, to Trajan's Fortresses, roads and earth slopes and other less important places" (p. 109). If for Trajan's bridge there is concrete, archaeological proof of the legs of the bridge from Turnu Severin, for Trajan's Prat the researcher makes a historical and linguistic investigation of great amplitude, inventorying the word in different contexts and subduing opinions about the origin and circulation.

With the same thoroughness are recorded and commented on other material and linguistic vestiges, let's call them, such as "Trajan's roads on the ground" or "Roman roads", but also "Trajan's road on the celestial vault", this as proof of the fact that "The Romanians from all regions of the country have projected parts of the Traianized landscape in the sky, giving the stars, along with biblical and astronomical meanings, new meanings of historical coloratura" (p. 147), so that, according to the Answers to Hasdeu's *Linguistic Questionnaire*, the Milky Way becomes the Way of the Slaves, in over 300 localities, the Trojan's Way or Road in 47 localities (and here we must emphasize the linguistic debate regarding "Traian" and the doublet "Trojan" that circulates unhindered in the oral/written formulations of the name), and "The Way of the Blinds" in 40 of the localities investigated on the basis of the linguistic questionnaire (Idem).

In the monumental construction that Professor Ion Taloș raises in support of the thesis on the myth of the ethnogenesis of the Romanians, which has Emperor Trajan in its center, the scientist brings to support arguments from all areas of culture, oral and written, taking into consideration aspects less or not at all retained from the real or imaginary biography of the Roman Emperor, among which his "eroticism", which he identifies with the "dew lord", from a Romanian folk story, studied in detail by Petre Florea (collaborator at the monograph about Traian, 2021). "Therefore, in the folklore of the south-west of Romania takes place the overlapping of the legends of the mythical emperor, the Lord of Dew, with those of the real one, emperor Trajan" (p. 174).

In the same context, this time challenging its quality as a myth of ethnogenesis, the opinion of G. Călinescu (*History of Romanian Literature from its origins to the present*, 1941) regarding the four "fundamental" myths that "were and are still nourished with increasing fervor, constituting the mythological starting points of any national writer" is brought into question, among which "the first myth is Traian and Dochia symbolizing the very constitution of the Romanian people". "Asachi – writes the eminent literary critic and historian – spread the story of Dochia, Decebal's daughter, pursued by Traian and pretended by Zamolxe, at her request, in the rock, to get rid of the pursuer." The paragraph dedicated to the analysis of Asachi's poem ends with a disconcerting

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phrase, from a terminological point of view, but not meaningless: "If this form of the *fairy tale* were not only a resounding of the *legend* of Asachi and yet the *myth* has taken consistency and rules the consciences (Călinescu, op. cit.)."

"Traianization" (the term seems to belong to Taloș) to the old Dacians and the consciousness of its later inhabitants (the Romanians) that all are "the descendants of Trajan" (perhaps/surely here intervened and the cult strata, from the Romanian countries, the school, the teachers, especially in the context of their entry into the "aeon of nationalities") are solid arguments in support of the thesis regarding the mythization of the emperor. "Therefore – concludes the researcher – Emperor Trajan is present in the consciousness of any Romanian; he is valiant, merciful, and kind; only very rarely are negative attributes of him revealed. He's our true ancestor."

I would have been tempted to end this summary commentary on the latest writing of the humanist scholar Ion Taloș with the maxim/sentence of Ovidiu of *Heroides*, *Finis coronat opus*, with the meaning "The end crowns the work", my thought going towards a coronation, through this study, of a brilliant work, unparalleled in the Romanian culture of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century.*

NICOLAE CONSTANTINESCU

Ioan Pop-Curșeu, Ștefana Pop-Curșeu, *Iconografia vrăjitoriei în arta religioasă românească. Eseu de antropologie vizuală* [Witchcraft Iconography in the Romanian Religious Art. A Visual Anthropology Essay], Cluj-Napoca: Școala Ardeleană, București: Eikon, 2020, 369 p, ISBN 978-606-797-562-8 (Școala Ardeleană), 978-606-49-0324-2 (Eikon)

This book belongs to the interdisciplinary research of eschatological iconography, a domain that aroused the researchers' interest during the last two decades. Researchers like Cristina Bogdan (author of papers on iconographic representations of Death), John-Paul Himka, Cosmina-Maria Berindei, and Raluca Betea, published their works on the iconography of Last Judgement. The present book by I. Pop-Curșeu and Ș. Pop-Curșeu focuses on one single detail of the iconographic composition of the Last Judgement, often met in these representations, i.e. the practitioners of witchcraft, who appear as condemned to hell's labors. Within this context, witchcraft's iconography exploits both the apocalyptic imaginary as well as the magic horizon expressed by spells, charms and enchantments. The witchcraft's iconography as motif of the religious art belongs to the category of punishment representations within the context of the compositions on the Last Judgement. Since witchcraft is considered a sin, its practitioner is part of those punished and found in the above-mentioned iconographic context in the area representing hell, but also in several other contexts that are part of the same register of sinners' damnation.

* With small changes, a version of this text has been published in the periodical „Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Moldovei" (Iași), 2022, p. 197-204.

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Published in 2020, *Iconografia vrăjitoriei în arta religioasă românească...* (Witchcraft Iconography in the Religious Romanian Art...), brings forward older themes and preoccupations of the two Cluj-based academics. It becomes an encounter of the individual research the authors conducted during their doctoral studies: research on magic and witchcraft by Ioan Pop-Curşeu as Ph.D. thesis at Babeş-Bolyai University (the basis for *Magie şi vrăjitorie în cultura română. Istorie, literatură, mentalităţi/ Magic and Witchcraft in the Romanian Culture. History, Literature, Mentalities,* Iaşi, Polirom–Cartea Românească, 2013), and another one on theatricality in post-Byzantine painting, Ph.D. thesis defended by Ştefana Pop-Curşeu at Université de Paris III – Sorbonne Nouvelle, în 2008, entitled *La Théâtralité de la peinture murale post-byzantine (XVe-XVIIe siècles)/The Theatricality of the Post-Byzantine Mural Painting (15th-17th century).*

It comprises five chapters, preceded by an *Introduction* and followed by *Conclusion*, *Bibliography* and an annex which includes two texts significant for the way in which the painters used to convey knowledge on the eschatological iconographic compositions.

The first chapter, *Eschatologia, cea mai frumoasă poveste comunitară/ Eschatology, the Most Beautiful Community Story*, is dedicated to an extensive discussion on the way in which the end of the world representations and the posthumous fate of the souls are projected in the everyday existence and define its itinerary. Thus, the iconographic composition of the Last Judgement is considered a "vast repertoire of social representations" (p. 13). After a short excursus with Yves Christe on Western Christianity and Byzantine's iconographic eschatological representations, the authors focus on the image of the sorceress, noticing that in the Western world she appears in the works of well-known 16th-18th artists like Lucas Cranach the Elder, Albrecht Dürer, Hans Baldung Grien, Albrecht Altdorfer, Filippino Lippi, Agostino Musi, Salvator Rosa, Agostino Musi, David Teniers the Younger, Francisco Goya. It's the time of Inquisition, when the great Western artists resuscitate mythical figures of witchcraft, like Circe or Medeea. In the Byzantine world where the "secular iconography developed slowly, timidly and late" the sorceress is part of the composition *The Judgement Day* together with other figures of bad influence: the whore, the barren woman, the unbeliever, the blasphemous, the heathen one, the murderer, etc. (p. 16).

In the Romanian culture, the witchcraft iconography was influenced by the popular beliefs, apocryphal literature and popular books that circulated through copyists, sometimes they themselves church painters like Vasile Zugrav (p. 77-81). In his case, echoes of *The Apocalypse of the Virgin* (a text he copied between 1776-1779 and signed *Vasile Dimitriovici, painter* ot *Sibiceu de Jos*, as proved by the miscellany manuscript 17867 from the Romanian National Library) are identifiable in the iconographic composition of *The Judgement Day* from the church in Sibiciu de Sus (p. 81). The church no longer exists today, but in 1924, N.A. Constantinescu identified the image on the exterior façade of its porch, together with the signatures of Vasile Zugrav and two other painters. The mural ensemble painting is dated 1776 when the painter started to copy the eschatological text. An extensive part of this chapter is dedicated to popular beliefs about aerial toll-houses in the traditional culture and the homiletical discourse, the authors following the sources of these beliefs in *Viaţa Sfântului Vasile*

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cel Nou/The Life of Vasile cel Nou, a well-known Christian text. *The Iconography and Witchcraft of Toll-Houses* is a sub-chapter that lists the representations of toll-houses in the Romanian iconography with a focus on the fourth toll-house where those who practiced witchcraft are called to account (p. 34-35). The chapter includes reproductions of some representations of *Aerial Toll-Houses* in the religious iconography in certain churches in Romania and Bulgaria too.

The next chapter, *The Romanian Painters and Their Image of the World*, is the largest one in the book, and is dedicated to "circumstantial elements which shape, one way or the other, the visual representations, which give them form and direction, which fill them with a certain content" (p. 77). It starts with an extensive analysis of the influences of the copyist activity on Vasile Zugrav comparing the fragments of the copied popular book to witchcraft's iconographic results. Another special situation is the one of a family of painters whose main figure is Radu Zugravul who left us models remarkable for the witchcraft iconography. He had a vast canonical knowledge, proven by the types of information found in the manuscripts he left. Another important aspect discussed in the second chapter refers to the influence of the *erminii* (books which provided explanations and interpretations of the church paintings) on the iconographic compositions, but also on the way these texts, more or less canonical, were influenced by the cultural perspective of the copyists and painters. The argumentation is supported by information provided by domain researchers like Vasile Grecu and Nicolae Cartojan, Matei Alexandrescu or Teodora Voinescu (p. 65-87, 100). The eschatological notes and models from Radu Zugravul's manuscript are numerous: The Apocalypse, The Judgement Day, Archangel Michael Punishing the Sinner' Soul, The Parable of the Ten Virgins (mad and wise virgins), the representations of death, hell's punishments, and heaven.

Radu Munteanu is another church painter who is an important figure of the book, a painter of certain compositions of *The Judgement Day* from Ţara Lăpuşului, compositions in which hell is overpopulated by representations of sinners, and the devils' images are often zoomorphic. His eschatological compositions – analyzed both chromatically and from the point of view of their representations and imaginary – show both the influence of other paintings, texts and traditional culture and the painter's personal touch who "is more special than many other painters because he is more violent, imaginative, dynamic, closer to the people's life, but also more allegorizing" (p. 144).

The authors also focused on Matei Ţîmforea's compositions (not Ţimforea as it is spelled). The observations regarding the painter never leaving his village or his skillfulness are less relevant since he was a member of such an important center of painting on glass. The fact that he acquired the knowledge of a whole generation of icon painters was not out of the ordinary. What would have really been noticeable was that the icons on the theme of *The Judgement Day* by Matei Ţîmforea, preserved in various collections and well-known today were different from the iconographic model frequently met in the painting on glass and did not repeat the model; this demonstrates a special talent of the painter, who probably painted them without stencil.

The personal interpretations on *The Judgement Day* that various church painters had in their compositions were influenced by well-known beliefs, superstitions, and magical practices, by popular books and certain apocryphal texts that circulated in the

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Romanian area and were familiar to the artists; however, these interpretations influenced in their turn the imaginary of the communities exposed to their contemplation as well as certain copyists' activity. Thus, the influences go both ways: not only the iconography was influenced by the painters' or epochs' cultural horizon, but, in its turn, it determined certain beliefs' articulateness within communities.

The authors present in the chapter *History and Geography* the list of the 182 churches where they identified witchcraft's representations, chronologically organized; then they suggest quantitative research regarding their geographical spread. Discussing hypotheses suggested by Trevor-Roper, Arno Borst and Guy Bechtel regarding the geographical area of spreading the witches' persecutions, the authors try to demonstrate that this would overlap on more isolated and less fertile mountain areas. The hypothesis is only partially correct from the point of view of the research's result, and the authors offer a few provisional explanations focused on historical aspects. We suggest that the numerous representations identified in the nowadays Gorj, Vâlcea and Maramureş Counties should also be compared to the ratio between the old and new churches in certain geographical areas. If we follow only two aspects – the interdiction applied to Romanians from different areas to build durable stone constructions and the wooden constructions' perishableness – things get clearer. In Maramureş County the very old wooden churches have been extremely well preserved becoming thus its regional pride. At the same time, most of the churches in the southern part of the country where the witch has been identified in the iconographic context of The Judgement Day are old stone ones that withstood the time very well compared to the wooden churches. In my opinion the iconography on such perishable supports is impossible to recover. Some of them were ephemeral, subject to elements, fire or abandoned by the communities attracted by bigger and more gorgeous constructions when the legislation and financial resources allowed. Considering these conditions, the quantitative analysis of what exists and could be recovered based on certain notes is less relevant.

The chapter *Linguistic Typologies* includes a quantitative look and a qualitative analysis of the witchcraft semantic terminology. It is followed by *Iconographic Typologies* supported by reproductions of very suggestive iconographic details. The chapter bears the responsibility of patrimonial significance by noting these details, thus saving them from loss and obliviousness. The authors identify three vast iconographic types in which most of the representations are included: the witch in the river of fire, represented together with other sinners, the witch in the context of satanic riding (a type where other feminine figures hugged or ridden by devils are analyzed), and manna thieves. Beside these, other less frequent types are proposed: the witch beaten or tortured by devil, the witch whose tongue is ripped out by devil, the woman who worships the devil, and the woman with the mirror. The analysis of each iconographic type examines information on beliefs and magical practices brought by ethnographers or anthropologists. The analyses are often carried out from comparative perspectives, either in East-European context or suggesting comparisons with the Western world.

The research on which the present book is based was thoroughly conducted both through field research that spanned nearly two decades and through the reading of an impressive bibliography. The authors demonstrate profound knowledge of the

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domain both in East-European and Western areas, and the *Bibliography* is divided into two sections and subsections: *The Eschatological Iconography in Compared Context (The Judgement Day & The Eschatological Iconography, The Judgement Day, Eschatology & Eschatological Iconography in the Romanian Culture, The History of the Romanian Art – sources with information on eschatological iconography – The Witchcraft Iconography, Cultural Anthropology, History, Religion, Folklore, Studies of Apocryphal and Eschatological Literature).* Although the bibliography is impressive, a few visual anthropology references would have been useful. Studies by Georges Didi-Huberman (*Devant l'image. Questions posées aux fins d'une histoire de l'art*, Paris, Minuit, 1990), essays from *The Nymphs* series, especially *Ninfa moderna: Essai sur le drapé tombé* (Paris, Gallimard, 2002) and *Ninfa dolorosa: Essai sur la mémoire d'un geste* (Paris, Gallimard, 2019), or references to the founder of iconology, Aby Warburg, could have offered other perspectives of the analysis on the emotion the representation relies on.

The book is certainly meritorious, and The Romanian Academy Prize in 2022 clearly demonstrates the high appreciation of the specialists. It is no doubt one of the best the Romanian culture has offered on a theme of iconography approached interdisciplinary. The editorial work is also an exceptional one. *Witchcraft Iconography in the Religious Romanian Art. A Visual Anthropology Essay* reminds us of well-known books of Western culture, mostly of French one to which the authors adhere. It is also a book written within a project, under the inherent pressure of deadlines, and this is visible here and there, due to insufficient arguments or unfinished synthesis. The vastness of material, the attention with which the elements are recorded and, finally, the bibliography on which the research is based represent the premises for the publishing, two years later, of the book titled *Witchcraft in Romania* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2022). The second part of the book published in English for a reader less familiarized with the Romanian culture is about witchcraft in iconography, articulating some of the presented synthesis exercises.

COSMINA-MARIA BERINDEI

Ioan Pop-Curşeu, Ştefana Pop-Curşeu, *Withcraft in Romania*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2022, 331 p., ISBN 978-3-031-15221-4

The book *Witchcraft in Romania*, published in 2022 by Palgrave Macmillan, represents the continuation of the efforts undertaken by the two researchers, Ioan Pop-Curşeu and Ştefana Pop-Curşeu, whose interest in witchcraft and the imaginary led to the elaboration of this monograph.

Their work in this volume is centered around witchcraft cases in the territories that constitute contemporary Romania, aiming to capture the evolution of magic phenomena particularly between the 16th and 19th centuries. This monograph was designed in order to provide both the Romanian and foreign audience with an insight into the Romanian

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mentality concerning superstitious practices, as well as to attempt a correlation between Romanian and European communities regarding the practice of witchcraft. The purpose of the work is to recreate the context and the way in which magic beliefs were integrated and received at a cultural level by Romanian communities. The questions that the book wants to answer and that are pursued throughout the pages are: to what extent is witchcraft in Romania similar to the way it was perceived and analyzed in Western Europe, and what are the differences between the two cultural areas? At the same time, the authors aim to outline the specificity of witchcraft in Romanian communities from an anthropological perspective.

The authors propose to integrate the discourse about Romanian witchcraft into the Western cultural paradigm by applying the risk management theory model, thus following the path opened by Mary Douglas, Jean Delumeau, William C. Clark, Esther Eidinow and Ronald Hutton for the analysis of witchcraft and of the sacred. Ştefana Pop-Curşeu and Ioan Pop-Curşeu work with categories such as the "discourse of witchcraft," defined by *Willem de* Blécourt as a coherent system of concepts, stories, and actions, wanting to see if Romanian communities were more sensitive to a different set of risk factors, starting from the lack of persecutions against witchcraft in Romanian territories, compared to Western Europe, where pyres flourished.

The sources employed by the two authors for their analysis comprise legal codes enabling a correlation between the contemporary legislation and the trials for the crime of witchcraft; canonical and folkloric texts, as well as travel journals and biographies, which are analyzed in the absence of demonology treatises, in order to see how a discourse about witchcraft was constructed, around conceptions concerning sin, illicit practices, and the various manners of relating to the devil. In addition, the authors also consider apocryphal texts and visual representations of witches in compositions of the Last Judgment, which they analyze through a careful iconographic method.

The book is structured in two equal parts, with the first part trying to expose how the phenomenon of witchcraft was perceived at a legislative level, and the second part shedding light on eschatological beliefs about the sin of witchcraft. In the first part of the book, the scope is to highlight the way in which magical practices were lived and perceived, while the second part aims to reveal that, although witch hunts did not take the same extent in this remote European area as they did in Western Europe, there was still a concern for the use of magical practices, which manifested itself at a spiritual, imaginary level. The visual sources used by the authors (paintings of the Last Judgment in Orthodox churches) thus expose the grotesque punishments to which the souls of witches were subjected for eternity. Let us now take a closer look at the contents of the book.

The first part of the book (*Trials in Earthly Life*) explores a long historical evolution, trying to see how magical practices were perceived and treated in Romanian communities, highlighting their specificity compared to Western Europe, as well as the fact that there was criticism of these practices coming from multiple cultural channels. Firstly, there was criticism directed towards witchcraft by the clergy, and then

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there was criticism that encompassed all practices considered as superstitious, by the representatives of the Transylvanian School, in the context of Habsburg policies directed at standardizing beliefs and ultimately imposing a new paradigm of rationality (18th-19th centuries).

While the *Introduction* of the book is intended to familiarize the English language readers with Romanian history, with emphasis on some key moments in the historical evolution of the provinces that compose contemporary Romania, allowing them to better contextualize the phenomenon of witchcraft, the following three chapters explore aspects related to magical practices in Romanian communities and how they were addressed within judicial and social systems. By examining three types of texts – canonical texts, court proceedings, and travel journals or biographies – the authors provide a comprehensive perspective on magical practices in Romanian communities, stressing the interaction between the judicial system, the community, and individual perception of magical and supernatural facts. It can be observed that in Romanian communities the risk associated with magical practices was more related to shame and social reputation than to the psychological pressure exerted in the West through demonological treatises, such as the famous *Malleus Maleficarum*.

Therefore, the differences in the approach and treatment of witchcraft in Romania compared to the West are accentuated. In contrast to the persecutions witnessed in Western European societies, the Romanian communities were characterized by the absence of any form of corporeal persecution applied by the Orthodox Church, the penalties stipulated for those accused of witchcraft being only of a canonical nature (deprivation of Holy Communion for a period ranging from 5 to 20 years). One does not encounter in Romanian culture demonological aspects such as the idea of a pact with the Devil and the mythology of the diabolical Sabbath, entirely contrary to Christian liturgy and devotion to God. A less pronounced gender issue is also showed, although in Romanian communities it was also considered that women were more likely to deal with witchcraft, and to practice diverse forms of magic, such as love and fertility magic, and the use of herbs for abortion or healing purposes. Furthermore, there is a sense of community support for those accused of witchcraft, which was almost non-existent in Western Europe, Romanian people considering that the magical actors play a vital role within the community, as the village doctor and healer, soothsayer, and cunning man/woman. The authors underscore the specific influence of the cultural, religious, and social environment on how witchcraft was perceived and managed in Romanian communities from the past.

The second part of the book (*Trials in the Afterlife*) aims to directly complement the first part, which shed light on the history of witchcraft in the real world. Two main themes are addressed: the representation of witchcraft in apocryphal texts, *The Apocalypse of the Virgin* and *The Apocalypse of Paul*, which are based on condemnation of sins and the horrifying description of torments inflicted upon the damned, and the visual representations of witches (188 works of art, from all over Romanian cultural space, but mostly from the counties of Maramureş, Gorj, and Vâlcea, dated between

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the 16th–21st centuries). The greater spread of visual representations and thus a more pronounced belief in the supernatural in these three areas is argued to be due to a lower degree of literacy, as well as it is interpreted through the so-called "Alpine hypothesis," whose paternity is attributed to Hugh Trevor-Roper, developed by Arno Borst and further nuanced by Guy Bechtel. This research hypothesis undertaken by Ştefana Pop-Curşeu and Ioan Pop-Curşeu places the origin of the witchcraft phenomenon in isolated mountainous areas. A chronological and socio-psychological argument for the high number of representations recorded between the years 1750-1850 is attributed to the transformations of the Church in the age of the Enlightenment. The authors argue that although there were few earthly persecutions in Romanian lands, the sins associated with magical practices were perceived as extremely dangerous, as evidenced by the violence with which tortures were applied to witches and wizards in visual representations of Hell and the afterlife. The Church symbolically punished what it could not punish in a real manner.

The authors thus succeed in showing that the methods used by researchers to interpret witchcraft in the Catholic and Protestant communities can also be applied to communities where there was no systematic purge of witchcraft by the Orthodox Church. By addressing the proposed research questions, Ştefana Pop-Curşeu and Ioan Pop-Curşeu delineate the distinctiveness inherent in the manifestation of magic and witchcraft within the Romanian communities. Furthermore, they bring to light the anthropological observation that, despite initial dissimilarities, the endeavor to combat the social menace of what was thought to be diabolical practices takes on the appearance of similarity. This assertion is accentuated by the authors' poignant parallel drawn between the corporeal flames that consumed witches in Western European context and the eternal, symbolic fire that consumed the souls of those who engaged in the practice of witchcraft in Romanian Last Judgment images.

This synthesis on witchcraft can be integrated into ethnographic, anthropological, and historical studies because it manages to access the mentality of rural Romanian communities regarding illicit practices and rituals, and how they related to the feelings induced by engaging in such practices and behaviors. In addition to synthesizing some of the beliefs of rural Romanian society, this study addresses a topic that has been underexplored from a historical perspective, thus paving the way for further research in the field of social or ecclesiastical history that aims to highlight social discipline based on canonical texts and images. Regarding the visual aspect, these representations of witches in the flames of Hell can benefit from a more in-depth iconographic analysis, taking into special consideration the spatial, denominational, and legal constraints of the time.

From my point of view, the book is a very interesting read for both the general audience interested in history, the folklore, and superstitions of Romanian people and the specificity of its cultural practices. It also appeals to academics interested in the phenomenon of witchcraft in a larger Eastern European context.

LOREDANA IONELA CUREA

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Marin Marian-Bălaşa, *Ochiul dracului şi al lui Dumnezeu (mentalităţi economice tradiţionale)* [The Eye of Devil and God (traditional economic mentalities)], Bucureşti, Editura Muzicală, 2021, 620 p., ISBN 978-973-42-1205-7

If we were to use the now established formula of historian Lucian Boia, we could say that the volume we are talking about is... different!* As the author, in his entire being, is an ethnologist... otherwise. I mean, he's not like the rest of us. Which benefits the author more, and us, the rest, less. Because I continue to believe that between the work and the biography dozens of threads are woven together, holding them both and structuring their patterns. You will undoubtedly ask me what is so special about Marin Marian-Bălaşa's volume? Well, kind of... everything.

First of all, Mr. Bălaşa is ambitious and embarks on an ethnological approach that... boggles the mind (as the chronicler said). And which, today, is little frequented in Romanian ethnology; namely: the synthesis. We, the others, more or less famous, cut out a larger or smaller piece of social reality or of the objects of study belonging to ethnology and folklore, and focus our research on this subject. Well, our author takes it in the opposite way: he chooses a way to enter the social reality – in his case the economic phenomenon – and his research object is actually... the entire social reality. We do monographic research, while he does global research. In autochthonous ethnology – using here the term ethnology as an inclusive one, which in fact melts folklore into itself – I have not seen greater ambition since Simion Florea Marian (end of the 19th – beginning of the 20th century). Which again is good. What I want to say is that the contemporary author is at an age when successive accumulations reap their fruits, but I realize that the project of this volume is three decades old and that it is actually a work of maturity. In some way, almost all of us experience this: sometime, late after we have scattered our research in various directions, we find with surprise and delight that, in fact, unconsciously, we seem to have been guided through time in the choice of research subjects so as to fill the white spots of an imaginary map of our ethnological curiosity. In other words, at some point we realize the unsuspected coherence of our research interests. And if at that moment we put our fingers on the keyboard, we can make The personal synthesis of all our research. What I have been trying to say is that at some point we are all tempted by the temptation of synthesis, only that the synthesis of the majority of us is infinitely more modest than that of Marian-Bălaşa. So let's remember the first argument of the singularity of his work: the *ambition for synthesis*.

* This was the orally presented text which opened the workshop devoted to discussing this book, under the title *Pentru o etnologie românească dezinhibată. O carte, un autor şi opt perspective de lectură* [For a Disinhibited Ethnology: a book, an author, and eight reading perspectives], conceived, launched, organized and moderated by prof. Constantin Bărbulescu within the 2022 „ASER National Conference" (Sibiu, 14th of July). The gathering was honored by advanced academic presentations, analyses, reviews, surveys or impressions by C. Bărbulescu, Eleonora Sava, Otilia Hedeşan, Elena Bărbulescu, Ioan Pop-Curşeu, Mircea Păduraru, Ileana Benga, as well as by conclusions and answers by M. Marian-Bălaşa. Re-elaborated and expanded (thus illustrating and achieving the colloquial event), most of those original presentations here follow.

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Secondly, the economic perspective through which he looks at the Romanian rural social, but not only the rural, is also completely atypical within the contemporary autochthonous research. As it is known, we do not have a well-developed autochthonous economic anthropology/ethnology. An economic vision over the social life, so characteristic of the modern analysis of societies, is completely eluded in Romanian ethnology. Well, precisely this perspective, as I said – atypical, marginal and almost non-existent – is chosen by the author as the royal path to the interpretation of the Romanian social. What Marian-Bălaşa attempts in the volume we are talking about is an economic interpretation of the facts pertaining to peasant culture and civilization. In fact, it goes down to the economic bases of the social and rural imaginary. And it is precisely this perspective that makes otherwise beaten and beaten subjects in Romanian folklore and ethnology to be put in a completely different light than how they appear in the canonical works. Classical subjects, in our author's approach, become... something else. Precisely this new perspective on some known subjects gives the intellectual beauty of the present work. And to stop speaking blindly, let's now take an example: the traditional wedding. The author starts from a common sense observation, which we all know in fact: "Beyond its aspect of celebration, the wedding is the moment when the economic fund with which the new family sets off on its own existential adventure is accumulated and activated. The wedding is, therefore, an occasion for economic display and financial contributions. Practically, the wedding lays the economic foundations of the setting and evolution of a family, the negotiations and discussions of the future in-laws about the wealth, dowry or inheritance to be offered to the bride and groom are intense, often heated, sometimes prolonged up and beyond the time of any events and ceremonies, sometimes excuse for deep arguments until old age" (p. 184). The problem is that we all know the economic dimension of the wedding, but (as far as I know) none of us researches it. Where are the ethnologists' research works – and this includes me, indiscriminately – in which we have the descriptions of the economic transactions of a concrete peasant wedding in the flesh and bones?!

We kept dreaming that there would come (I would say on a white horse) a young researcher who would work on rural weddings, or even urban ones, and who would do an entire doctoral thesis on the research of marriages and implicitly the weddings of at least one brotherhood and in which to highlight these "solid materialistic calculations" (p. 186) that are the basis of marriage. So, the matrimonial and therefore patrimonial strategies, if we want to use the standard terminology of European ethnology, the connection between them and how they are actually implemented. At least a small number of case studies to give us a concrete idea, anchored in the field, about this maximum transaction that marriage is. The merit of the present author is that he looks at marriage exclusively from this perspective that is hidden by contemporary ethnology, and, perhaps, other researchers will follow in his footsteps and give us the studies that will allow us to overcome general and generalizing statements. Marian-Bălaşa rightly talks about the "wedding economy", "the wedding as an exuberance of the economic gift", about the "wedding gift" and the "business marriage", perspectives that I recommend to all those who want to study the contemporary wedding. There is here a white, shameful spot (among many others), on the map of autochthonous ethnology. In order not to prolong it, let us retain the second

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argument pleading for the singularity of the present volume: *the economic approach to social phenomena and to past or contemporary folklore productions*.

If you simply look at the summary, and especially if you read the entire volume, you cannot fail to notice the space the author gives to the marginals of the Romanian society: Roma, beggars and the poor in general. In fact, the entire peasant society is perceived as being characterized by economic dependency, political and cultural subordination; and I think he is not wrong with this assessment. Because from Pierre Bourdieu onwards we know that the European peasantry is a social class that is always an object and never a subject. However, Parts III and IV in Marian-Bălaşa's book, which represent about half of the volume final text, are entirely dedicated to these marginal categories. If we add the analysis of the meanings of poverty in the folklore texts, from Section I, we are forced to note that the author's major interest is directed towards these social categories. Marian-Bălaşa empathizes and is irresistibly drawn to the condition of the marginalized and to their cultural productions, which the canonical authors do not necessarily ignore, but certainly neglect. In other words, in Romanian ethnology the marginals and their folkloric and ceremonial productions occupy exactly the place that dominant society attributes to them, i.e. marginal; while in the work of Marin Marian-Bălaşa the social marginals are extracted from their humble condition and propelled to the forefront of research! Together with Irina Nicolau and several other contemporary or older researches, MMB's approaches the rituals of the poor in Bucharest (such as the "lamb-touching walk", the "subway carol", the "begging carol" and others). Yet, he is equally interested and almost fascinated, I could say empathetically, by the gypsy fiddler and his role in shaping the local folklore. Through empathy and the maximum interest given to the fate's disinherited ones, I tend to place Marian-Bălaşa's book alongside Vasile Ernu's trilogy of marginals or the one dedicated to *Vieţaşilor de la Rahova* (Survivors from Rahova) by Eugen Istodor. Thus, let's mark and remember the third singularity of the present volume: *the interest in marginals and their cultural productions*.

Fourthly, the gaze of the ethnologist Bălaşa is disinhibited and strongly challenging. He doesn't shy away from tackling uncomfortable topics and calling things out. He talks about the misogyny of peasant society as reflected in folklore texts, about rural violence, about the laxity of peasant morals and even about popular racism, i.e. about those things that can transform the Romanian peasant good and identity into a character, according to the standards of today, as doubtful as possible. Of course, few of the Romanian ethnologists do this because in this way they would threaten the privileged alliance between the dominated ideology (the national/nationalist one), and ethnology, that is, between *the peasant* and *the Romanian*. This would be equivalent to the demystification of national ethnology. Marin MB thus becomes a kind of Lucian Boia of Romanian ethnology – the one who dismantles the founding myths of the peasant's image in all local/national ethnological production. An unfortunate positioning, because in this way one becomes the favorite target of the local academic establishment. It is true that he himself does not whisper his words when he talks, for example, about the "economy of the political folklore" or about "folklore and political opportunism", totally marginal topics in contemporary academic debates, because they obviously put the guild in a bad, unfavorable light. Anyway, the author rightly states that: "The interference of politics

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in folklore – that is, the genuine, massive, tendentious and aggressive interference of a substantial, partisan and despotic politics – is a premiere of the 20th century. On this subject, distinct studies, objective, consistent, have not yet been initiated. And those carried out during communism (such as exegesis or collections signed by folklorists until 1990) inevitably bore the mark of political enslavement and conditioning" (p. 500).

In beautiful case studies, Ioan R. Nicola and Ilarion Cocişiu "fall victim" to him, but Al. Amzulescu is not spared either. Yet, on the other hand, even if he mentions the phenomenon, MMB easily passes over the main servitude of Romanian ethnology, namely: the privileged alliance between ethnology and national ideology. And which is not from yesterday, but has always been, more precisely from the very birth of the discipline at the end of the 18th century. Folkloristics, and the whole constellation of researches on the native peasant world in the 19th century especially, but not only, in fact are integral parts of the mechanism of production and consolidation of the national ideology. Marin MB knows this very well, much better than many of his colleagues, and I am convinced that he does not approach the subject consistently for the simple reason that it is not within the scope of this work; so, one should not be unfair to him. In conclusion, an asset of the present work is the fact that it casts *an uninhibited look at the research objects of the ethnologist, as well as at the knowledge generation mechanisms in Romanian ethnology*.

Fifthly, the author has his own style, a specific writing, which, it must be said, does not benefit the reader, but which eventually catches you and which in the end you really start to savor. At least that's what happened to me. MMB does not have an easy writing style: the phrase is long, arborescent, baroque as someone put it, full of repetitions and even lexical innovations. In his case, even the writing is... different. For example, it uses Arabic characters instead of Roman characters to designate the centuries (as the rest of us do); uses the hyphen in print to differentiate the doublet *pósturi–postúri* (postures – positionings). However, in the end, despite all such things, how many of us can boast that their text can be recognized from the first, even when it does not have the author printed on its front and next to the title? In the end, I can only assure you that the effort to read this over 600 pages book (small layout, so about 800 pages in fact) is worth doing. In the end, you won't regret a single reading minute.

CONSTANTIN BĂRBULESCU

Bringing together research carried out over three decades (1990-2020), *The Eye of Devil and God (Traditional Economic Mentalities)* builds on its 620 pages a new epistemological field in Romanian ethnology – the economic sacredness or the economy of the sacred –, but also a new theoretical and interpretive paradigm that supports this view on the folk and popular thought. In addition, the volume is included in a consistent attempt of Marin Marian-Bălaşa to make visible and heard a new type of ethnological and anthropological discourse in the Romanian public and scientific space. Taking a critical

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stance towards the canon of classical Romanian folkloristics, which often constructed an idealized and schematic image of the peasant and of the "national" past, this discourse reveals the purpose of the ethnological view that is to make intelligible the truly lived real, to decipher contemporary mentalities as well as current life practices. The 10 points of the present presentation argue this just stated thesis.

1. The encyclopedic dimension. Initially titled *Folklore and Economy...*, the work constitutes an idea-based or conceptual monograph, insofar as it deals with everything that has an "economic referent within the imaginary, literary, spectacular, and musical productions of folklore" (p. 5). Viewed in the context of Romanian customary thought, the economic is revealed to be connected with the sacred, and the various relations between the economic and the religious are traced through analyzes grouped in the five sections of the volume. The three fundamental concepts – folklore, economics and religiosity – are reconceptualized, having much more extensive semantic fields in the proposed approach. Folklore is defined from the very beginning as "a term and sign for a certain kind of cognition, a certain genuine, primary creativity, consubstantial to human consciousness, basic for any individual, as well as for any community" (p. 7-8); definition that will be nuanced in several subsequent reforms: "the totality of forms and formulas of sensitive expression of popular-traditional cognition" (p. 403). The book convinces us, throughout its course, that everything that belongs to this type of cognition (that is, all folklore, in a broad sense) has an economic referent, and the economic can only be understood – on a psychological and mental level – only in relation to the whole culture and, therefore, with popular religion and religiosity: "folk economics is a mental form as intimate as it is simple or symbolic, but at the same time appropriate to the real and close to the sacred. Treated in a folkloric way, the economic is a tool and an adaptation to a real or psychomental instance, at the same time indistinguishable from the sacred" (p. 8).

2. The diachronic dimension. The author analyzes cultural practices (and the mentalities that support them) not only in an archaic and pre-modern, traditional/rural/ folkloric context (as in the studies of classical Eastern European ethnology), but also in a modern, industrial, post-industrial, contemporary/urban context. More precisely, he follows the continuities and diachronic of the analyzed cultural facts: "because if you separate yourself from the grammar and discourse or the classical, «official» interpretation, if you leave aside the simplistic discriminations and template definitions, this traditional economic thinking – in the form of many mental fragments of more subconscious, but repressed nature – can be identified in many of the current Romanian minds and behaviors" (p. 10).

3. The integrative dimension. The diachronic approach is correlated with a holistic vision of traditional-folk cognition, surpassing the typologies and dichotomies by which canonical ethnology operates: sacred/profane, archaic/modern, primitive-simple/ complex-evolved, etc. (although some of these concepts are still used here, but in a much more nuanced and comprehensive approach, by reconsidering the existing relationships between them). Exegesis is constructed "over and beyond any dual concepts" (p. 5), otherwise inevitably reductionist and simplistic. The approach "breaks down borders" (p. 5) that seemed immutable until recently, revealing the close

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relationships that exist between the economic and the religious aspects of the same cultural fact, be it from the sphere accredited by classical folklore: calendar custom, rite of passage, ceremony, magical ritual, belief, folklore text, etc., either from the area of "marginalities" or "maximum precariousness": begging, "begging song", subway/tram/neighborhood carol, or from that of the "city piety": the good-fortune letter or the "chain of luck", the "helping-hand" games, etc. If previous studies treated the economic and the religious separately or, when they were correlated, they were approached "fragmentarily, secondary or incidentally" (p. 5), the present work considers them, for the first time in the specialized Romanian bibliography, as "a field, vision or system of a wide factological and epistemological scope" (p. 5). The integrative dimension paves the way for the detailed analysis of both the religious aspects within some practices usually regarded as materialistic and economic, as well as the strictly economic and pragmatic aspects existing in cultural facts that were considered as belonging to the magical, mythical and religious culture. "Thus, the work presents in detail the sacred economy, the profane economy (plus the sacred of the economics), as well as their far too frequent interconnection within the dynamics of reality" (p. 6).

4. The theoretical dimension. The very obvious distancing from the constraints of the dichotomies with which the humanities operated in the early days, and which were perpetuated by Eastern European ethnologies through the grid of communist positivism, is followed by the elaboration of conceptual frameworks "closer/suitable to particular cases, mixtures and interstices" (p. 7). In this sense the author builds-up a theoretical support both supple and comprehensive, capable of supporting the analysis of cultural facts in their multifaceted dimensions: "Because, in reality, there are no *boundaries* (neither between realities nor between the terms for approximating the reality), but rather continuous or at least frequent crossing/intersection, transfusion or mutual infusion. Understanding the sacred as profane and the profane as laden with sacred, or their extremely numerous contact, overlap or contagion surfaces, the penetrations/diffusions and (con)fusions between the two, the degrees, processes and times of the passage of the sacred into the profane and viceversa, all these or many such kaleidoscopic realities have not become perceptible and operable (cognitive-conceptual) within the majority of Eastern European ethnologies and anthropologies. In contrast to the regional exegetical tradition, the present volume comes precisely within the sailing line of a more sensitive and flexible approach to culture" (p. 7).

5. The conceptual dimension. Elaborating the theoretical level of the work involves defining the concepts used and rethinking the already existing concepts. In order to build an effective operating system, the author creates and puts to work a whole terminology able to support the case studies, in an extremely stylistically expressive manner. I select only a few examples, such as *ritual needs*, *cultural-ritual need*, *psychomental instance*, *psychomental experience/psychomental experimentation*, *the magic economy in the*, *psychotherapeutic economy (of birth)*, *psychomental well-being*, *peasant societies*, etc. In this context, *reconceptualization* becomes one of the main stakes of the proposed hermeneutic process (see above).

6. The analytical-interpretive dimension. The analysis of Romanian folk and popular mentalities forms the most consistent part of the book, in which the author

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directly applies this theoretical lens, through complex interpretations and memorable case studies. Here, for example, is the section dedicated to urban piety and the letter (or "chain") of luck, in the fifth part of the book, entitled *The sacred and profane economy of the everyday (from the old village to the contemporary city)*. Here, an extremely popular phenomenon in recent decades, but more than a century old (as the bibliography dedicated to the subject attests) – the letter or chain of luck – is integrated into the Romanian history of popular religious mentalities, in an excellently documented and penetrating analysis of the mutations that this form of scriptic folklore has registered over time: "from the very religious traditional letters (or «chains»), the phenomenon will go through the agency of some (possibly oriental) spiritualisms [...]; in order to arrive at and end up with totally desacralized, cruelly profane letters/notes/rants and messages that try to arouse or take advantage of people's credulity by directly addressing their economic interests and phantasms (of course, also providential), as well as a totally non-canonical or non-ecumenical, confusing, abysmal superstitious background, anyway, still... «folkloric»" (p. 554). Explaining the prolificacy of written notes through the sacredness with which writing was invested in traditional thought, the exegesis takes into account both the older history of notes and handwritten letters, of the «chain of St. Anthony» type, which circulated throughout the 20th century, as well as the most recent of messages multiplied by means of technology (photocopiers, at the end of the last century, respectively the Internet in the first decade of the 21st century: narration/joke/pps/ppt sent and received by e-mail). Their multiplication and diffusion aimed, in the folklore imaginary, at the "proximity and instrumentality of Luck" (p. 558) especially in economic terms, and inaction brought into play its reverse side, bad luck, or what the author calls the *economy of curse*. Defining terms for customary thought – luck, bad luck and curse – are circulated and actualized through forms of media communication specific to post-industrial societies. The analysis applied to a corpus of narrative messages of this type highlights the magic-religious mentality that articulates and perpetuates them. The analyzed pps are only the latest form that a very old phenomenon has taken: "namely, the traditional spam of *lucky letters*. Those who relied, some, on the religious faithfulness of the poor, others on the credulity of the superstitious, the greedy or those addicted to the «gift economy» (or the memorial alms), others on the illusion of the lonely and helpless ones as if they could influence or help the destiny of others" (p. 558). It is just one of the many examples of alternative readings of the facts of traditional culture that support the close and complicated relations between the sacred and the economic in the folklore imaginary, talking about processes and dynamics that are part of the long life span.

7. The critical dimension. In order to build the new field of research, with all that entails – vision, methodology, theory, and hermeneutics – the author first deconstructs the commonplaces of national ethnology, the "taboos", dichotomies and descriptive-empiricist commentaries of the old ethnological paradigms. The stakes of deconstruction are on the one hand ethical (involvement in a moral and intellectual recovery of research, but also of Romanian society), as well as scientific (connecting Romanian ethnological discourse to Western bibliographies). The polemical reports on totalizing discourses take on accents of virulent criticism when he talks about works anchored in the paradigm of communist positivism, or when he discusses the intermingling of the ideological and

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the political in folklore/folkloristics: "Totally cynical and perverse, the Ploughman only becomes when it comes under the influence of the political and the communist ideology, in the form of "worker's plough-wishing song and especially the greeting ceremonies that marked the first day of the new year of the Ceaușist officials" (p. 98).

8. The innovative dimension. The deconstruction of classical and national ethnologies opens up obviously innovative epistemological and methodological perspectives. Human acts and behaviors are seen as concrete forms of manifestation of a vision of the world, a Weltanschauung shared by individuals and the community. In this approach, facts are seen as actual expressions of mentalities, since "more than the «way of thinking» (of a man or society), the mentality is the real way of being, of performing oneself" (p. 401). The analyzes privilege the *particular* (to the detriment of the general), the *everyday* (current practices, neglected or considered insignificant by the "great theories"), the *creative marginality*, in opposition to the „theoretical/ artificial ideal of the «authentic», archaic, major manifestations" (p. 9), followed for decades by Romanian ethnologists, the *dynamics* and *pluralism* of the researched facts, the *interactions* between them (which are no longer perceived as isolated segments), *individual usage* and creativity, their relationship with the *psychological and mental context*, etc.

9. The evaluative dimension. Critical connection to ideologized or essentialist discourses involves both evaluating them in categorical terms and asserting one's own ideas and interpretations in definite/ultimate manner. Here is an example right from the *Introduction*: "What this work aims to do is [...] to definitively *establish* [my emphasis, ES] the fact that the economic, apparently gregarious or subordinate, represents an element of consciousness on the one hand omnipresent , and, on the other hand, loaded with deep cultural and religious resonances, meanings and functions" (p. 5). The often ultimatum tone and trenchant wording stimulated my inquiries and eventual responses to the book, the author, or myself. They invited me to reflection and dialogue.

10. The dialogic dimension. I would say that the invitation to dialogue and problematizing is not only a defining feature of the book, but also of the author himself. Over the last few years, at the National Conferences of the Association of Ethnological Sciences in Romania, Marin Marian-Bălașa initiated and managed to coagulate a system of bringing together in debate some current issues, less (almost not at all) frequented by canonical Romanian ethnology: "Sexuality and society – a book between revelation and scandal; discussions on the edge and in the core of the last volume signed by Andrei Oișteanu" (Craiova, 2016); "Ethnoanthropology of the equation (Male + Female) = roles/ claims/duties and aspirations/psychocultural structuring" (Baia Mare, 2017); "Aurea Mediocritas (or about the critical mass of culture: aspirants, marginals, anonymous)" (Blaj, 2019) etc. In addition to **reorienting** the gaze towards themes as important as they have been little addressed so far in our country, these debates have brought together ethnologists with similar/closer visions and methodologies, from (approximately) the same generation of researchers, located in different university centers, such as Otilia Hedeșan (Timișoara), Mihaela Bucin (Szeged), Mircea Păduraru (Iași), Ioan Pop-Curșeu (Cluj), Elena Bărbulescu (Cluj), Astrid Cambose (Iași), Amalia Pavelescu (Sibiu), myself and others. The creation of a common dialogue space, where the case studies, ideas and

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experiences of each participant could be discussed and enriched, meant at the same time the establishment of a group of specialists who produce convergent discourses, based on a common epistemological and methodological foundation. One of the main stakes of these round tables was to make individual discourses better heard within a reflection group and, through this, to contribute to a change in the research paradigm in Romanian ethnology.

I must add here the fact (not to be neglected) that part of the texts contained in the volume (or initial versions of some texts) were published during the years 2006-2007 in the "Săptămâna Financiară" newspaper, in a systematic effort by the author to make the ethnological exegesis on traditional economic mentalities accessible to the public and to open perspectives of reflexivity on the purposes and benefits that ethnological disciplines have or can bring to deciphering current realities.

This is why I consider, without a trace of doubt, that Marin Marian-Bălaşa is a completely unmistakable voice in current cultural ethnology/anthropology, and the volume *Ochiul dracului şi al lui Dumnezeu (traditional economic mentalities)* represents an important landmark in a programmatic approach of the author to make known a new type of scientific discourse and to impose paradigmatic changes in Romanian specialized research.

ELEONORA SAVA

The book by researcher Marin Marian-Bălaşa, from the "Constantin Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore, impresses primarily through the novelty of the academic approach. The author travels along the sacred-profane and wealth-poverty axes, through a thorough analysis of a variety of folklore subjects and how they are closely related to the economic side. In fact, this is also the central idea of the book – the economy of the facts of Romanian traditional culture/folklore; in other words, it looks at the folklore facts through the prism of economics, in the words of the author: "This work judges, on the one hand, *folklore*, *traditional* and *popular* (primary/elementary dimension of unanimous cognition and creativity), and, on the other on the other hand, *economy* (way of an administrative approach to the world and life) as paradigms of the sacred-profane spiral. Paradigms that move non-rectilinearly or oppositely, non-unidirectional and non-contradictory, anytime reversible and confluent. The present theory and demonstration captures the interpenetration of the fields, the becoming and return of something sacred into the profane, as well as the revelation, the gesture of absorption or evasion of the profane into or from the sacred" (p. 8). What the author wants and even succeeds in doing with this volume is "synthesizing a *theory of the sacralized economy*, as well as an *economy of the sacred*" (p. 5).

Innovative is the very vision of the author, who simply re-reads – and co-opts us readers in this process – manuscripts of carols, fairytales, stories, *snoaves*, songs, in a new key – of the economics, and in an original/personal manner. With this, the

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author puts the dot on the "i", or rather unties a nodal point in folklore/ethnological/ anthropological sciences, because our field of work needs another *retelling*/(re)*analysis* and from *other* angles of the facts of traditional culture, than the ones we are used to, or were used to until recently. The author himself warns us from the beginning that „this work naturally ignores numerous theoretical settings or classical definitions – performed from epistemological and exegetical levels belonging to another time, other orientations or degrees of disciplinary development. In the present case, many such definitions, already classic, inertially familiar, becoming ineffective. Based on *re-conceptualization*, the present work claims the reader's receptivity in favor of alternative, unconventional approaches, in fact, for a much more nuanced problematizing" (p. 6). Thus, the attention to *nuances* is a key element of the book, the one that makes the interpretative approach go beyond "simple dualisms".

The volume includes an introduction and five chapters centered on several ideas: the sacred and the profane in traditional economic thinking, the anthropology of demand and offering, rites, ethnic subdifferentiations and economic servitudes, the folklore of maximal precarities, the sacred and profane economy of everyday life – which bring the economic perspective on folklore into contemporaneity/factuality/present. The nodal point of the author's hermeneutics is the interest for the marginalized people. Starting from a "theme regarding marginal aspects of social and cultural life" in Romania, the author continues to open his research during the last thirty years, until he reaches "creativity, mentality, economy." Here, the author's idea of making the connection between creativity and poverty is extremely interesting: the poor are creative, the rich are not.

The subject of begging did not attract the attention of ethnologists in particular or those in the humanities in general. However, the comments and annotations, the author's field notes successfully demonstrate that there is no reason other than the theoretical limitations of the Romanian academic environment that such a subject did not attract interest for study throughout a long period of time. I would even say that contrary to the general association, after 1989, of the entire Romanian society with the image of a country "full of the poor, the disabled and the abandoned orphans" (p. 9) should have aroused a great interest in the socio-human sciences of research in depth of these aspects/ marks of poverty.

The present presentation did not attempt to perform a general approach to the entire volume, but rather to highlight some ideas, aspects, approaches that strengthen the *uniqueness* of Marin Marian-Bălașa's academic endeavor. The book is a *synthesis* of long-term researches, quests, interrogations, as he says, "slowly written", and through which he makes us all witnesses but also challenges us to discuss not only "the folklore understanding" but also the "thinking about folklore".

The arguments visavis the duet poor/rich (poverty/wealth) are valuable, from where after analyzing several folklore species (lyrics, proverbs, popular prose) the researcher proposes two major conclusions: the first speaks about "«the equality» between poverty and ethics, respectively wealth and the lack of virtue", and the second which emphasizes the two conditions from traditional-popular thinking by which one gets rid of poverty: divine intervention or the gift economy. The author's discussion

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about Romanian hospitality ("the Romanian gives so that he's given back") is also well pointed at by this idea, and obviously the one about the praise of work, of domestic work, domestic industriousness as he calls it on page 78.

Then the pages dealing with the idea of gender education, which is obviously different, depending on the matriarchal or patriarchal "prisms", are worth noting: "through the matriarchal-feminine-passive prism, the girl must cultivate her beauty and physical comfort. Through the patriarchal-masculine-active prism, the girl must cultivate her ergonomic availability and hardworking, productive character." The pages about the eros economy caught my attention (all the more so since we are generally educated to look at eros in opposition to the economic) and here the author's demonstration regarding the erotic fairs or the sexual freedoms of the past, and the criticism of the approach to that subject matter by the folklorists of the (communist) "golden age" constitute a bountiful reading. Re-reading and implicitly re-interpreting the idea of belonging to the nation, crucial for any "peasant", the desire to accumulate in order to "ensure the perpetuation of the family/nation", brings us again to a nodal point: "to have means to be, to accumulate means to become" (p. 77), and which is repeated in the discussion about the wedding economy, where the author brings us from the symbolic heights (that is, of the way the subject of wedding was treated in ethnology/ folklore in general) toward the real world: "The wedding is, therefore, an occasion for economic display and financial contributions. Practically, the wedding lays the economic foundations of the foundation and evolution of a family, the matchmaking, quarrels and discussions of the future in-laws about the wealth, dowry or inheritance to be offered to the bride and groom being intense, often heated, sometimes prolonged beyond the time of any events and ceremonies, sometimes pretext for old age deep arguments" (p. 185).

With the subchapter *The power of the poor*, the *divine beggar*, the author begins a demonstration of strength regarding begging and its cultural values, which brings an extraordinary image benefit to Roma ethnic group. I would say that these theories and demonstrations of the author about the phenomenon of begging, based on the published materials as well as on his own field research, represent the strong point of this volume. To insist on just one idea: the beggar (like the guest) *sometimes* represents (my emphasis) a transcendent principle. The emphasis is important, because the researcher thus wants to highlight the distance between popular and folk Christianity and the Crist-centered one (p. 106). The author also exposes and interprets other markers of the Romani mentality, that we can find in the Romanian folk-popular culture, but I will stop only at the phrase *Să-l ia daracul!* (to devil with him!), which the author says that it represents "the expression with which Romanian folklore usually scorns the Roma and ends up any reference to the Gypsy, and which unfortunately persists up to this days. In tandem with begging here comes the idea of work, of what authentic work mean, says Marin Marian-Bălaşa, in traditional culture, namely "authentic work is physical, raw, agricultural work". The idea of well-doing as an investment is also interesting (p. 165), where the author's field experience converges with the proverbs wisdom.

In the sub-chapter *Payment/reward and the subjective agendas of the caroling*, the argument regarding the request for gifts at the end of the carols, and their replacement

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with money in the recent period, ends with a question that is as pertinent as possible and likely to incite a wider study: "The village interest in currency/money must be seen as a derogation, decadence, desacralization?" (p. 206). Subchapter *The Transcendent Child* (p. 226-229) leads the discussion towards an eminently positive image of the child. Again, a discussion that incites a separate study, because only renouncing Satan through baptism is not a sufficient action to cut off the relationship with the negative transcendent. I also could not ignore in this brief presentation the discussion about the *manea* and *manelization*, because I endorse to the author's conclusion that manelization has "become a (...) mental determinant, quite identity", and even that it should be "used as a metaphor for the Romanian political and educational elementariness. The idea that "economic and sociological statistics focused only on «objective» facts is misleading. In fact, there is no economy without culture. That is, without the reflex of a socially *played out* psychology and mentality. Poverty and wealth are states of mind, too" (p. 401) – brings fire to a science that is based on in-depth studies (with qualitative methodology) such as ethnology.

Also noteworthy are the lines criticizing the advertisements for the Bacchus products, and which are viewed by the author as a real attack on human dignity (primarily of women, but also of the "smaller and weaker" colleague) (p. 445-447), or those in which the author analyzes the popular empathy for thieves (p. 449-477).

The economy of political folklore shows how a "system brake", as the author calls it on page 491, puts sticks in the wheels/obstacles to an approach in line with the current paradigms in the field, comparable to those of a historical nature, and still supports the "politicization of the academic folklorism" and implicitly of communism.

The subject of new folklore, the one through which Marin Marian Bălaşa believes that "perhaps for the first time folklore (the folkloric man) cheated", I think it deserves a separate book. Towards the end of the volume we reach the "eye of God" stated in the title, through the (so) necessary discussion about the new religiosity of the Romanians, the one after 1989, which is a phenomenon of such a wide scope that it amazes in contrast with the poverty of academic interest. Or maybe it is precisely what the author notes: "the financial behavior vis-a-vis a religious institution" which basically supports an ideology with notable effects in politics, is likely to make the native researcher avoid the subject. Of course, at the end of the volume we find out the spotlight on money, on the *idea of money*, which, after a previous discussion on the birth of an ecological mentality, the author puts "in its place" by expelling it from the Temple.

The volume offers a more in-depth look at the Romanian "soul", beyond the festive appearances that hide under the rug everything that is negative and only exacerbates the ceremonial beauty, as well as a discussion about the real society, the one from archive collections but also the one found under our very eyes, on the contemporary ground. Summarizing, this academic approach is notable for: 1. *Innovation*, at the epistemological level, of the ethnological interpretation, the author proposing a new reading key; 2. *New subjects*, such as for example the folklore of the marginals, TV commercials, etc.

The book is written in a downright baroque language, with many figures of speech, and which makes the reader feel at the same time captured and attracted with

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extraordinary force inside the formulated ideas, leaving him then exhausted and resigned, capitulating to the ample demonstration of the author's strength. It is a reading that keeps your mind engaged, right there on the text, otherwise you won't understand anything. At the same time, it is a book that addresses and proposes topics for experts' discussions, or at least for doctoral students, i.e. to advanced experts in the field, not to those at the beginning of the journey or very outside the humanities.

ELENA BĂRBULESCU

The work of the Bucharest-based researcher explores the polyvalent and protean relationship between the field of practices and representations usually associated with the religious and with various forms of ideality as well as economy in the context of folklore culture in the Romanian space. In the introduction we read that the author's intention was to touch the "phenomenological amplitude" of the field constituted by the mentioned connections (an intimidating and relatively taboo field, especially to "lay ethnologists", as the author calls them in another work, or to those who have fallen into various metaphysical or archaic-non-historicist traps); "to offer yet another integrative key for the interpretation of some facts of folk and/or popular creativity", and "to establish" – especially for the ethnologist trained in Romania – "that the economic, seemingly gregarious or subordinate, represents an element of consciousness on the one hand omnipresent and, on the other hand, loaded with deep cultural and religious resonances, meanings, and functions" (p. 5). Also in the introduction the reader is alerted to a movement of thought that will be constantly found in the work and which consists in revealing the religious element within economic practices and, conversely, in denouncing the pragmatic, profitable aspect hidden in the core of cultural facts belonging to the religious or to some *interiority* that is generally believed to be impenetrable and invulnerable to the temptations of the economic (p. 6). A Maussian report, of course, already classicized in the West, but which has not fertilized the ethno-anthropological reflection in Romania.

The work analyzes a variety of themes – from the "classic" ones (for the local context), such as the economics of burial and child-birth, the mythology of pastoralism, the caroling, rain-bringing *paparude*, etc., but always reconfigured and surprisingly reimagined, up to new themes, rarely or not at all addressed so far, such as erotic fairs and prostitution, the sociology of poverty and begging, the economics of domestic violence or the "acquisition of afterlives" (with reference to the buying fever of eternal resting places). The author constructs his research object imaginatively and uninhibited, exploring Romanian mentalities often in relation to cultural forms and categories of sources towards which local ethnology studies still show reluctance: from films and TV commercials to newspaper articles and advertising posters to famous paintings, novels, subway carols or the cunning speech of street gamblers' "white & black" game. The work is a colorful "(factual and ideational) archipelago" (p. 5).

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Equally, we have in front of us a work that critically rereads the ethnofolkloristic culture from Romania (that is, the local ethnological library), entering into a polemical dialogue with many canonical figures of national ethnology (splendid criticism administered to P. Caraman, in the context of the discussion about the son-in-law's song and the role of Roma fiddlers, at the end of which it turns out that the latter are "creators of Romanian specificity", but equally spectacular are the ones related to O. Bîrlea, A. Fochi, Gh. Pavelescu et al.), but also one that scrutinizes contemporary culture critically, moralizing, revealing (as the visionary O. Densusianu once wanted) themes, phantasms, pathologies and obsessions of the present, greatly expanding the field of ethnological investigation in the direction of highlighting and deepening modest facts, without "aura", everyday or not, but which, in the author's reading, present in their deep structure forms of irrationality or religious thought – rather perennial and trans-historical than "archaic" or "traditional".

As in other works by Marin Marian-Bălaşa, this one is also impressive, rigorously theorizing and speculatively creative, but without leaving aside the factology/ *ethnographic evidence*. It is just that since the same ethnographic knowledge, which until recently used to provide apparently unshakable certainties and definitive verdicts, is now churned throughout the author's interrogative device, it proves itself to be a porous and vulnerable ensemble. In this sense, the work does not just offer "another key" for the reading and interpretation of cultural facts, but *several keys*, depending on the historical-anthropological condition of the examined topic. Far from being driven by apodictic and hegemonic impulses, the author's discourse is open and ecumenical, honestly preferring high stakes problematizing rather than artificial solutions, *possible* and *plausible* hypotheses rather than "absolute truth". This hermeneutic wisdom derives not from an epistemological option for the superiority of the *plausible*, but from lucidity, from the deep scrutinizing of the investigated fact, resulting in an understanding that recognizes the complexity of the connections, conditionings and interdeterminations of all given cultural objects. Understanding this, the author rejects all over-simplifications. Among the interpretations that can be integrated into *the realm of plausibility*, I would mention those circumscribed to the *economy of Eros*, *erotic fairs*, *prostitution* and rain-makers *paparude*, or those related to the fiddling phenomenon (*"Wedding without fiddlers", musical exhibitionism, beating*, and *The Fiddler: the leap from servitude to excellence*). In the mentioned sections one can find many problematizing examples that prove the heuristic force of the *plausible*, but also many "theatrical twists", i.e. revelatory reasonings, combining anthropological erudition, dialectical rigor, psychoanalytical suspicion, and empathic imagination. Thus, the suicide of the stolen wife, who prefers the death of a life on foreign soil and in the company of a man of another nation, would rather express a masculine desire, an expression of the elementary desire to destroy the good that you cannot possess; the Halmagiu wife-kissing fair would be less of an innocent postmarital rite, as postulated by nationalist-communist ethnology, but rather a masked form of sexual flexibility, an opportunity for the young wife to experience erotically – even if physically only by kissing – multiple partners, i.e. a cultural mechanism for hormonal and phantasmatic self-regulation that allows inadmissible pleasures and satisfactions under the shelter of moral judgment; and prostitution per se, as a profit-

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driven practice, can be a manifestation of independence and financial self-determination in the context of a patriarchal, violent and misogynistic society. The *paparude* ritual, involving dance, nudity and monetary remuneration, appears in the author's analysis more like a rural striptease show than as a religious, mystical act that would seriously intend supernatural effects. Finally, in Marian-Bălaşa's analysis, the Rroma fiddlers' virtuosity would also be a consequence of their eternally vulnerable status, of always being in danger, a fact for which they had to always find eccentric solutions at hand to entertain their masters/employers. The unorthodox violin execution techniques, perhaps that of playing not with the bow but by using a horse hair tied to a string, may be even due to the delicate situations in which the fiddlers will have found themselves, of playing with an instrument damaged as a result of a beating. Also revealing is the observation that recognizes the Rrom violinist as a sorcerer or "numinous character", the only one who masters the art of controlling the others' emotions, the only one who possesses the ability to offer others joy, and therefore to facilitate solidarity and everyday life escapism.

It must be emphasized that the author's hermeneutic attitude is not only at the antipode of recent and even current folkloristic commentaries, which frequently and massively elaborate along the given landmarks of *circulation-typology-genesis*, exasperatingly descriptive, with outdated philological or protohistorical complications. This discursive paradigm is contested here, often explicitly, through open, frontal, spectacular interactions. These disputes concern not only the meaning of some interpretations or cultural facts, but also aim at theoretical principles, issues considered "universals" or "cornerstones" of local ethnologies. Such an example can be found in the chapter *Recompensa fidelității* (Fidelity reward), in which the researcher questions the principle that equates the density/frequency of a folklore piece with its age, i.e. its archaicness: "At the beginning of the 1980s versions of the Milea Ballad were known to folklorists as spread all over Romania. This thing proving the very old age of the text. Because only a very old text can have such a general and intense spread. Yet, to me this interpretation and explanation is childish, being based on the hollowed hypothesis that everything old persists and that frequency and multiplicity unmistakably mean antiquity" (p. 57).

The *Eye of the Devil and God* is in many ways a demanding read, for it is as intellectually spectacular as it is discharming. But healing from illusions does not mean nihilism. The committed and empathetic tone, sometimes of revolt and exasperation (see the chapter *Small introduction to the economies of domestic violence and alcoholism*) eloquently reflects this. Basically, the book is about Romanian mentalities and ethnic psychology, that is, about exactly that world in the middle of which the author and the readers to whom he addresses lead their existence. This world is addressed directly on the last pages of the book: "The man's only true emancipation or superiority is produced exclusively through the effort of conscience which, on the one hand (on an intimate level) proceeds to cast away the acquisitive, profiteering, miser or consumerist demons, and which, on the other hand (on a social level) professes on a daily basis a compassionate humanism" (p. 604-605).

MIRCEA PĂDURARU

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It is particularly difficult to contain in the space of a limited analysis the entire complexity of Marin Marian-Bălaşa's work, *Ochiul dracului şi al lui Dumnezeu (mentalităţi economice tradiţionale)* [*The Devil's and God's Eye (traditional economic mentalities)*]. It is a wide-ranging, somewhat disconcerting book that easily navigates from archaic cultural forms to ultra-contemporary socio-economic practices, from folklore understood in a traditional sense (carols, ballads, *doinas*, fairy tales, proverbs, mythological narratives and beliefs) to the multi-layered and no less folkloric universe of the Internet or contemporary big cities. However, Marin Marian-Bălaşa never refuses his readers a "dip into the past" in his analysis of contemporary phenomena, as is shown by the analysis of the practices of the "minstrel-songteller" [*colindătorul-menestrel*] Vasile Ardelean (p. 393-399). In this presentation, I will try to start by outlining a few issues related to the author's methodologies and hermeneutical stance, then I will point out a series of contributions that I consider relevant, ending with a brief stylistic note.

To write today a synthesis book on the economy of Romanian rural and urban communities poses a methodological challenge, which Marin Marian-Bălaşa meets with great subtility. Let me explain: in such a book, it would have been easy, but also fashionable, for the author to adopt a neo-Marxist discourse. A few pre-fabricated categories that explain everything, a series of babble about class struggle, the use of a grid for presenting the facts that serves the conclusions on a platter, ready-to-use, ready-to-eat, and the recipe for success would have been perfect. Marian-Bălaşa, on the contrary, takes a much harder, thornier, more methodologically and conceptually difficult path. Not even "economic servitude" is interpreted by the author from a Marxist perspective. This does not mean that his book does not tackle issues such as poverty, precariousness, prostitution, enrichment, racism and ethnocentrism, or socio-symbolic power relations. On the contrary, these sensitive issues are discussed from multiple points of view, except that Marian-Bălaşa refuses rudimentary neo-Marxism in approaching them.

From the subtle, non-Marxist methodology, always appropriate to the intimate nature of the themes Marian-Bălaşa tackles, derive many of the strengths of this book, but also its potential interest for a very wide audience. The book's most visible and enduring contribution is its emphasis on the sacred foundations of traditional economies. Namely, in Marian-Bălaşa's perspective, no economic activity in traditional Romanian culture (but not exclusively) can exist without being inscribed in the horizon of the sacred, nor can it be understood separately from a whole complex of beliefs, rites and accompanying quasi-religious practices. For the traditional man and woman, work appears as a virtue, not as a generator of capital, and "in the framework of daily production (labor), human activity is irreducible to the aspect of generation and accumulation, consumption and material use" [în cadrul producţiei cotidiene (labor) activitatea omului este ireductibilă la aspectul generării şi acumulării, al consumului şi utilizării materiale] (p. 37-38).

In this logic, it is almost obvious that the traditional man and woman praise diligence, the supreme virtue, stubbornly rejecting certain forms of economic activity, as can be seen in folklore: "There are hardly any folkloric creations that glorify, say, trading. Or industry." [*Nu prea există creaţii folclorice care să proslăvească, să zicem, negoţul.*

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Sau industria.] There is one exception, however: these are the "comical folk songs invented by post-1944 cultural activists" who praised socialist modernity, technology, industrialisation, and the collectivisation of agriculture (p. 128; see also pp. 494-508). In the mental world of the ordinary peasant, only agricultural labour is respected, the manual labour that toils to pluck the fruits of the earth, and it alone attains great symbolic dignity.

And yet, despite his careful attention to many forms of archaic culture (agricultural, pastoral, viticultural, mining mythologies; rites of passage; literary or musical productions), Marin Marian-Bălașa is not a ruralist in the ideological sense of the term, i.e. he does not believe that only in the village survives the essence of the nation, that only in the rural world viable cultural forms worthy of arousing the interest of anthropology researchers are developed. On the contrary: the anthropologist is interested just as much as in the ancient village in the contemporary city, with its subway folklore, the "chains of fortune" or St. Anthony's chains circulating on the Internet, the games of mutual support, financial swindles, shopping, and new social rituals.

Taking as starting point – in a few pages with a strong personal, almost programmatic imprint (p. 405-408) – a text by Petre Ispirescu, in which this 19th century author condemns the import of the Christmas tree and the abandonment of ancient traditions, Marian-Bălașa moves on to similar ideas by Sabin Drăgoi and finally dissects the "attitudinal mistake" of these "conservatives, nostalgic, panicky and narrow-minded", albeit illustrious, intellectuals, namely that of refusing to see "that identity is not only given by what the human being/culture has inherited, but represents a dynamic universe, often [...] a flexible, open, evolving or at least amplifiable universe" [*identitatea nu este dată doar de ceea ce omul/ cultura a moștenit, ci reprezintă un univers dinamic, adesea (...) un univers flexibil, deschis, evolutiv sau măcar amplificabil*] (p. 407).

On the other hand, precisely by virtue of this broad interest in cultural phenomena, Marian-Bălașa adopts, as I have suggested on other occasions, a liberal perspective (in the philosophical sense of the term) on the matter he approaches and on the facts he analyses. He is neither a conservative nor a Marxist and knows how powerful the ideological mediations of Romanian folkloristics are, especially those of the inter-war period, but also those of national-communism, perhaps even contemporary ones, trying consequently to avoid them and to interpret the facts of culture in their specific social dynamics. Marian-Bălașa knows how to distinguish with acumen what is an authentic contribution in a collection of folklore or in an interpretative text from what is blind obedience to the ideological imperatives of a particular era. A close reading of a text by Ilarion Cocișiu is exemplary of Marian-Bălașa's approach (p. 508-513): an unpublished manuscript in two versions, built around the observation that only the poor sing, that only they are the generators of folklore and that – the richer man or woman become – the further they move away from song, dance, and poetry. Although Marian-Bălașa basically agrees almost entirely with Cocișiu's claims, two variants, two successive drafts of this January 1950 text are presented as an expression of the folklorist's ideological reorientation, of the deadly gymnastics he was forced to perform between his personal convictions and the proletkultist imperatives of the historical moment.

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Marin Marian-Bălaşa's analytical approach can be compared – *mutatis mutandis* – in its best, deepest, most specific achievements, to the effort of correlating cultural facts and understanding them in their specific context, which was undertaken by members of the inter-war Gusti sociological school. Marian-Bălaşa is well acquainted with the research of the D. Gusti's disciples, whom he quotes repeatedly, even though he does not do so apologetically, but always in a nuanced and critical way, which is the highest praise that could be given to them. In Marian-Bălaşa's opinion, the sociology of the Gustian school would have achieved remarkable results if its natural development had not been interrupted after the Second World War. However, today, the Gustians have many emulators who continue their nuanced and complex analytical approach, with updated and perfected methodologies, among them Marin Marian-Bălaşa himself.

Ochiul dracului şi al lui Dumnezeu (mentalităţi economice tradiţionale) [The Devil's and God's Eye (traditional economic mentalities)] is a work full of relevant scientific contributions. Almost every chapter and sub-chapter could turn into a stand-alone work, but this does not detract from the unity of the whole, in which the sections and information correspond and link together in a remarkable synthesis. I would point out that the author's training as an ethno-musicologist and his specific skills are clearly visible here, as many pages of the work deal with the economic life, the social status of the of the Roma/Gypsy violin players [*lăutari*] and the economic practices underlying their art. In addition to the remarkable pages on violin-playing, one of the most important contributions of Marin Marian-Bălaşa's book is an investigation – the first of this broadness and nature in Romanian anthropology – of what the author calls "the folklore of maximal precariousness" (p. 331-399). It concerns folkloric productions linked to extreme poverty and performed mainly by beggars, namely "begging song", "begging Christmas carols [*colindas*]", "subway songs".

Another relevant contribution of *The Devil's and God's Eye* relates to the economy of the sacred. If, as we saw at the beginning of this presentation, the economy of traditional communities is based on sacral foundations, it is no less true that religions have always had an economic dimension, often ignored by anthropologists, especially in Romania. Our researchers have preferred to study the "cosmic Christianity" of the Romanian peasant and have never placed the Orthodox Church (and other denominations) in the complex web of economic and social life, whether rural or urban. Marian-Bălaşa fills an exegetical gap here too, studying with scientific probity but also with humour the "acquisition of posthumousness", the "barter of salvation", "tithes" or numerous forms of "devotional-confessional prosperity". It must be said that, in these chapters, the examples given by the author are not only Romanian, but rather take readers to many meridians, from the United States to India, in a remarkable attempt to open up analytical perspectives and terms of comparison.

Style, together with some very solid points of reference ("the sacred foundations of traditional economics") and a number of methodological principles, is one of the basic binding agents in this huge amount of diverse information, heterogeneous texts and ideas of the most varied kind that is *The Devil's and God's Eye (traditional economic mentalities)*. Indeed, any informed reader can easily recognise here Marin Marian-Bălaşa, the astute researcher from previous scientific works, or the publicist who is increasingly

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asserting himself in the online environment with remarkable public positions. In his book, Marian-Bălaşa resorts to his usual arborescent phrasing, with numerous digressions, but which is never hard to follow or convoluted. There are flashes of irony on almost every page, but these are often offset by glimmers of tenderness or compassion for all the poor and disinherited. A touch of preciousness from place to place, visible in some of the French words that Marian-Bălaşa writes almost by pronouncing them *à la française*, brings nothing but a necessary touch of colour to a work that is basically ultra-soothing and "heavy/difficult" in many ways.

This book is an important work that should not be missing from the library of any cultural anthropology enthusiast. I have not attempted to summarise it, but to list a few reasons why it is a remarkable achievement and I would conclude by urging potential readers to enjoy this book straight away, tasting it at length, for it should be read and re-read both as a whole and in fragments, in a thorough and always open reading.

IOAN POP-CURŞEU

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BUCHAREST, 1969: THE 5TH CONGRESS OF THE "INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR FOLK NARRATIVE RESEARCH" (FACSIMILE PAPERS, PART IX)

1: Sabina Cornelia Ispas: Bucharest, Oldřich Sirovátka: Brno, Elisheva Schoenfeld: Haifa (Fl 1920/6/44576)

2: Oldřich Sirovátka (FL 1915/28/44531)

3: Ligia Bîrgu-Georgescu: Bucharest (FL 1915/37/44538)

4: Nada Milošević-Đorđević: Belgrade, Nicoleta Coatu: Bucharest, Petr Dinekov: Sofia (FL 1920/14/44583)

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5: Tony Brill: Bucharest, Maja Bošković-Stulli*: Zagreb (FL 1918/34/44476)

6: Maja Bošković-Stulli (FL 1919/23/44554)

7: Katharine Mary Briggs**, Mr. & Mrs. Mixail Čikovani: Tbilisi, Tony Brill (FL 1914/39/44433)

8: Gabriela Vöö***: Cluj (FL 1919/4/44541)

9: Tony Brill, ?***†, ? (FL 1914/29/44527)

* also seen in REF/JEF 1-2/2021: 225. ** paper & photos in REF/JEF 1-2/2020: 244-250, 243, 259, 300.
*** paper in REF/JEF 1-2/2019: 228-237. ***† also seen (reading) in REF/JEF 1-2/2023: 201.

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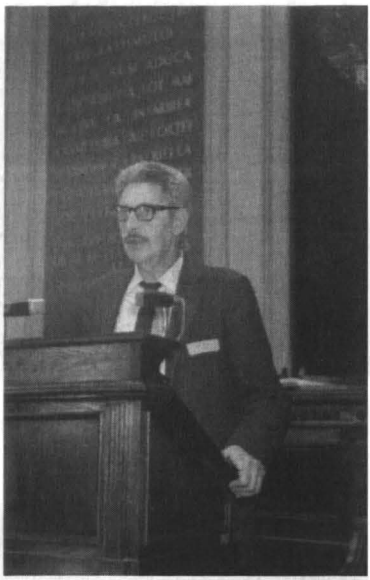
10: Gheorghe Vrabie: Bucharest (FL 1917/5/44485)



11: Luc Lacourcière*: Quebéc (FL 1918/12/44455)

12: Ligia Bîrgu-Georgescu, Nicoleta Coatu, Karel Constant Peeters**: Leuven (FL 1915/38/44539)

13: Viktor Sidelnikov: Moscow; in the back: Elisheva Schoenfeld, Adeboye Babalola*** (FL 1917/30/44465)

14: Mixail/Mikhail Čikovani, Maja Bošković-Stulli (FL 1919/12/44549)

* paper published in REF/JEF 1-2/2017: 268-275. ** seen in vol. 1-2/2016: 195, 1-2/2018: 318, 1-2/2021: 223, 1-2/2023: 217, 270. *** paper in REF/JEF 1-2/2020: 282-300, photos in REF/JEF 1-2/2021: 224, 285, 1-2/2022: 277.

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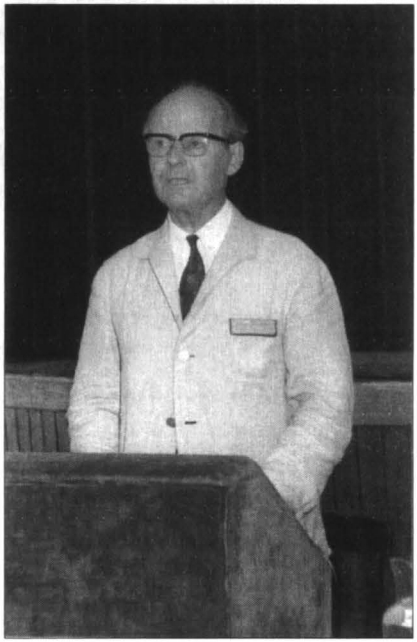
15: Mr.& Mrs. Čikovani (FL 1916/25/44439)

16: Ambrazejos Ioninas*: Vilnjus (FL 1914/35/44429)

17: Carl-Herman Tillhanen**: Stockholm, A. Ioninas, K.M. Briggs***, M. Čikovani (FL 1914/36/44430)



18: C.-H.Tillhagen (FL 1913/31/44407)

19: Cornelia Belcin, Petr Dinekov, Carl-Herman Tillhagen (FL 1916/21/44408)

* also noticeable in REF/JEF 1-2/2017: 267, 1-2/2021: 225. ** no paper found/left behind, photos in REF/JEF 1-2/ 2017: 238, 1-2/2019: 183, 1-2/2020: 300. *** text & photos in REF/JEF 1-2/2020: 244-250, 243, 259, 300, 1-2/ 2023: 230.

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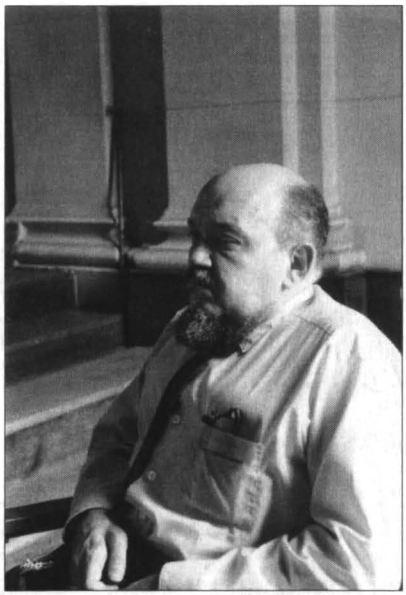
20: C.-H. Tillhagen, Richard M. Dorson*
(FL 1914/37/44431)



21: Daniel J. Crowley** (1915/.../445...)

22: Katharine Luomala***, Mrs. & Mr. D.J. Crowley
(FL 1915/4/44506)

23: K. Luomala (FL 1913/26/44401)

24: Wayland D. Hand***†
(FL 1914/41/44436)

* text & photos in REF/JEF 1-2/2018: 319-326, 318, 1-2/2020: 243, 300, 1-2/2022: 195 (as specified in note 2, p. 252). ** text & photos in REF/JEF 1-2/2019: 199-206, 189, 1-2/2021: 224. *** Text & photos in REF/JEF 1-2/2019: 190-198, 189, 1-2/2022: 195. ***† text (co-authored with Linda Dégh) & photos in REF/JEF 1-2/2017: 209-229, 238, trice in 1-2/2019: 183, 1-2/2022: 195 (cf. note 2, p. 252).

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Schönfeld V.

A WORD IS ENOUGH TO THE WISE
(Balys *2445)

The difference between the very rich and very poor, the very clever and very stupid, very good and very evil is amply dealt with in numerous folktales all over the world. However, quite ordinary characteristics such as intelligence or just plain common sense have been rarely "defined" so to speak. The story to be discussed shows the difference between an intelligent or a learned and an unintelligent or an illiterate person in various classes of society.

Let us take for example the story about the manager and the employee published by Abraham Ben-Jacob in his collection of Jewish-Iraqian stories "Haotsar":

The owner of a factory employed a new manager. One of the employees came to him and complained:" I work in this place now almost twenty years, and the manager has started only recently. I work very hard for eight hours a day, but the new manager whose tasks are easy, works only four hours. How come that his salary is twice as high as mine. Is there any justice?" While he was talking a caravan of camels carrying sacks on their backs passed nearby. The factory owner said to the complaining employee:"Please go and ask what kind of load the camels are carrying and their destination." The employee went after the camels, asked for the information he was required to find out and reported to his master: "They carry goods which are destined for the market." "What kind of goods", the master wanted to know, and the man went back to get that information. "They carry lime," he reported. "Ask them now what price they demand for the lime", the master said, and the man went off to ask for the price. "They demand fifty pounds per sack" was the answer after he had returned. - However the master was not satisfied yet. "Inquire now about the quality of the lime, if it is good and worth this sum". Off went the man for the fourth time. When he came back he stated:

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"They say it is of a good quality". - "I wanted your own opinion, and not theirs," the master said. "Go now, have a look with your own eyes and see whether they are right". Off the man went for the fifth time to inquire if the lime was worth the demanded ~~sum of money~~ price. When he came back he said:"There are big and small lumps. How would I know the quality of the lime before I used it." - "Ask them now if they would agree on a reduced price if we buy wholesale." Well, our man went off for the sixth time to get that piece of information. Upon his return he told the owner of the factory that the lime would not be one dime cheaper. Then the master said:"My good friend, sit down, for you must be tired, and I shall show you something." He called for his new manager and asked him to inquire about the destination and the kind of goods carried by a caravan which had passed only recently. - The manager went after the caravan, made the necessary inquiries and returned after a short while.

"Master," he said, "the caravan carries lime. I examined it and found it to be of good quality. They asked fifty pounds per sack, I negotiated the price with them, and they agreed to reduce it. Finally I found out they brought the lime from such and such a place, and....." Here the manager was interrupted by the factory owner who addressed the oldtimer:" You see now, my good friend, you did not accomplish as much as the manager although you went to the caravan six times. The manager understood exactly what I wanted to know, although I did not expressly ask for the details. Is not the manager's work of one hour worth as much as yours of a full day? You probably see now why his salary is twice as ~~high~~ much as yours." The employee lowered his eyes and said to the factory owner: "God bless you, master, I was wrong. Observing the new manager, I think his salary should be thrice as ~~high~~ much as mine, God bless him too."

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In other versions the intelligent as well as the unintelligent man are servants who are to inquire about various kinds of agricultural products. In the story published by Olsvanger in "Royte Pomeranzen" the servants are to inquire about a waggon full of corn; a man born in the vicinity of Lodz told me the story of the ~~helpers~~ helpmates of a miller who are sent after waggons full of grain; in the tale published by Mrs. Teitelbaum the master wants to be informed about some trucks carrying lumber, and according to Gross' version the servants are sent to inquire about a load of wheat, its owner and its price. Similarily a Palestinian Arab told the story about two sons of a man born to him by each of his two wives. They compete for the favours of their father who sends them to buy wool.

The story from "The Gripping Tales of India" by Ayyar transfers the plot from the rural environment to the court of an Indian king.

A king happened to hear his servant talking to himself about the injustice in the world, meaning actually the great difference between his and the minister's wages although he, the servant, worked much harder than the minister. The king ordered him to inquire about the traveller in a carriage just passing the palace. The servant reported that a monk by the name of so-and-so was travelling in it. "What monastry does he belong to?" the king wanted to know. The servant rushed away and came back with the answer:"He belongs to such-and-such a monastry. The king still wanted to know a lot more: where did the monk come from, where did he intend to go, whether he planned to stay there, for how long, what tent he would occupy, if he would be willing to receive the king and if so, at what time would he receive him. For each answer the servant ran after the monk's carriage and came back to report to the king. After the servant had painfully finished

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his job the king called for his minister and asked him to inquire about the traveller in the carriage. The minister stayed away for a while, and when he came back he had all the answers at once:" The name of the monk travelling in the carriage is Shankar from the Sharigary Monastry. He has just come from Shancutta and is on his way to Culudy. He plans to stay there for one day and will only be too glad to receive the king at three o'clock in the afternoon. In the evening he will also hold ~~the~~ a service in the temple". Thereupon the king addressed the servant and said:" You went after the carriage nine times and spent five hours until you got all the required answers. The minister however, travelled only once, and within half an hour I got all the information I wanted. Now you probably understand why the minister gets ~~a wage of~~ paid 2000 rupies and you only 10.

In connection with Rabbi Boon of whom it was said that he had learned in 28 years more than others could not achieve in a hundred years the following story is told in the Midrash Kohelet Rabba, a commentary to the book of Kohelet.

A king employed several laborers to work in his vineyard. And there was one laborer who excelled in his work above all others. What did the king do? He took him by his hand and walked with him for a long time. In the evening the laborers came to receive their wages, and the outstanding laborer also came with them and was paid by the king the full wages. The other laborers became angry and said: We worked for the whole day while this one worked only for two hours, nevertheless the king paid him the same amount of money as we got!" The king said to them:"Why are you angry? This one excells in his work and does more within two hours than you do during the whole day!".

A similar version appears in the Jerusalem Talmud and has been noted by Schwarzbaum in his book "Studies in Jewish and World Folklore" as a complement to the ~~Gross' version~~. before mentioned version published by Gross.

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Regarding the versions of the story demonstrated so far there are three features which define the intelligent servant, namely he is told his task by a few words only and he understands the rest, he carries out the work within the ~~least~~ shortest possible time with the least possible effort, and he proves to be imaginative and resourceful. Since he is a servant he is rewarded for his work in the form of wages. Moreover, in the described versions emphasis is put on the wages he receives in relation to the time he spends in carrying out his work, i.e. the less time he needs for carrying out a given task the more wages he receives as compared to others who are slower and need a greater effort to carry out the same work.

Two of the mentioned features, namely the understanding of a task by one or at most a few words and its execution ~~at the least~~ within the shortest possible time are carried ~~out~~ to absurdity in the following ~~versions~~ stories:

In a Jewish ~~version~~ anecdote published by Drujanow a servant is expected by his master to hear from him one word only and understand the rest, that is to carry out the task intended by the master. One day the master did not feel well and sent the servant to fetch a doctor. The servant went out, and when he came back he brought with him the doctor, a barber surgeon (to draw his blood), a nurse, four undertakers and a tailor with the material for the shroud. A Persian and an Indian version are much more elaborate. According to them the servant brought with him besides the doctor, a musician for the entertainment of the patient in case he would get well again, an undertaker and a man who would wash the body, a wailing woman who would wail the death of the master, an embalmer, a crier who would pray over the coffin, a guardian to dig the grave, a poet who would sing about the happy death and last but not least a cake and sugar cane for the mourners.

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- 6 -

Princes and merchants' sons do not get wages. For higher intelligence as compared to other brothers or half-brothers the reward of the princes is the kingdom and the reward of the merchants' sons is to inherit the business after their respective fathers' death.

Harun al Rashid was obliged to prove to his nagging wife Zubeidah that the son of his handmaiden would be more suitable to follow him to the throne than the son of the queen. In the Iraqian version published by Noy in his collection of Iraqi tales, the princes, among other tests, are sent to fetch wool. The son of Zubeidah has to run several times from the shop to the palace and back until he brings the right brand, whereas the son of the handmaiden asks all the necessary questions at once and consequently has to go only once to the shop for the required wool. The son of the handmaiden had proved himself clever in another way as well. The sudden call of his father for the intelligence test of which he could not know anything beforehand, had made him believe that something was wrong. So when he appeared before Harun al Rashid he was armed from head to foot. When asked about his apparel he answered that the sudden call of his father was so extraordinary that it made him think there might be enemies right at the gate of the palace.

A Yemenite story published by Zalman Baharav in one of his delightful collections tells also about a king who proved to both his wives, each of whom had born him a son, that actually the son of his slavegirl was the cleverest of the three. He put a bag full of gold coins on the highest shelf and ordered his oldest son to take it down. However, the boy could not do it without any aiding device, and he went out to look for a ladder. In the mean time the second son was called

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to do the same task but he was as helpless as the first one and went out to get a ladder. The king had not the slightest intention to wait for the lingering boys and called for the son of the slavegirl. This boy just looked around, discovered a wooden stick in a corner, picked it up and pushed the bag down with it from the shelf. - Since this lad did not waste time in looking for a ladder like his brothers, and he used his imagination, he got the bag of money at once and after his father's death - the kingdom.

The last story to be discussed here was published by Noy in his collection of Libyan tales.

An aging merchant allotted an orchard to each of his three sons and told them to use it to their best of ability, namely to sell fruit and charge for any service they might offer to the buyers. The boy who would bring home the greatest amount of money at the end of the day would consequently inherit his father's business. The eldest boy waited at the gate of his garden when many people were passing by. However a few only entered his garden and fewer still bought fruit for the prices he asked for were exorbitant. The second brother even did not stay near his garden for it was situated far from any frequented road. He just went to his friends asking them to lend him money which he would show to his father and pretend it had been earned by selling fruit. The orchard of the third boy was situated far out in the country. Many people passing went through its gate and bought fruit and were even offered the convenience of a bathroom. They had to pay an entrance fee and the fruit of course, for using the bathroom and, if they wished, for the drinks which were sold in the orchard as well. However the sum they were asked to pay for the fruit and each of the services was very low. Since the visitors were many and the services good, the boy succeeded in collecting a great amount of money.

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The story elaborates much more on the bathroom than I d can describe here for obvious reasons. Anyway, thanks to the great distance of the orchard from the town and the need of the travellers for such a convenience, the boy earned much more money in one day than his brothers.

As to the heroes of our story it is to be noted that only in the Midrashic and in the four Eastern European versions the competition, or rather the intelligence test takes place between two laborers or servants. In other words the competitors represent the working class, and, it may well be assumed had the same kind of schooling or no schooling at all. In two of the Oriental versions, the competition is carried out by two persons of different cultural level, i.e. in the Indian story the servant competes with the minister and in one of the Iraqian versions the employee competes with the manager. The four other versions which are all of Oriental origin describe an intelligence test carried out on persons of equal status who compete for the heritage of their fathers. It seems to be important that the most intelligent hero of the latter group is either the youngest of three brothers or the son of a slave girl or a second wife.

Our tale belongs to the realistic types of stories and in all the versions discussed above, excepting perhaps the Midrashic one, the confrontation of the unintelligent with the intelligent hero is treated with humor and wit. However the Midrashic tale, which seems to be the oldest ~~mm~~ of the discussed versions, stresses the moral of the story, namely: In the Almighty's world no two men are alike, one is gifted more than the other. This fact must be accepted and regarded as an advantage to humanity's thriving towards its ideals.

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TVRTKO ČUBELIĆ, Zagreb, Jougoslavie

LA CATEGORIE DE L'ORAL COMME LA LOI CONSTITUTIVE FONDAMENTALE DANS LA FORMATION ET LA NARRATION DES CONTES POPULAIRES

On a suffisamment souligné, dans les recherches effectuées jusqu'à ce jour sur les contes populaires, la tradition orale comme force fondamentale constitutive pour leur durée et leur existence; la nature spécifique des motifs narratifs a été également suffisamment soulignée, notamment la formation des cercles de variantes dans la propagation des contes populaires. Ensuite on a mis souvent en relief les éléments composants des cultures plus ou moins développées, ainsi que leur enchevêtrement, leur influence et leur enchaînement réciproques.

Ce sur quoi on n'a pas assez insisté, c'est le fait indubitable que les contes populaires sont des créations linguistiques, qu'ils naissent, se développent et durent dans la matière linguistique, et selon ses principes. L'auteur n'a pas l'intention de contester ici les facteurs de la tradition, ni les facteurs des influences culturelles et des couches intermédiaires, mais il insiste sur le fait que les lois qui régissent les expressions et les formes linguistiques sont ici primordiales et primaires.

Il ne s'agit pas ici d'annulation, mais tout d'abord de donner la prédominance aux aspects ethnologiques et comparatifs dans l'étude des contes populaires, et de les intégrer dans les nouvelles recherches linguistiques et culturelles du phénomène de l'interprétation orale.

Devant chaque conteur - quelles que soit ses qualités - une tâche primordiale s'impose : comment présenter le conte oralement pour qu'il soit écouté jusqu'à la fin et accueilli d'une manière déterminée ? Comment détacher les auditeurs présents de leurs intérêts pratiques et concentrer leurs pensées sur le cours du récit ? Comment présenter le conte pour qu'il soit agréé dans les limites possibles de la persuasion et de l'authenticité ?

C'est ici qu'apparaissent les lois spécifiques de la formation et de l'expression de la catégorie de l'oral. A l'intérieur de cette catégorie un processus créateur particulier s'est développé, caractérisé par l'envergure de ses motifs et de ses thèmes, et par le choix de ses formes littéraires, notamment parce que la catégorie de l'oral organise d'une manière autonome les éléments composants du système linguistique déterminé.

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Je crois que c'est ici qu'il faut chercher les lois qui régissent les narrations populaires.

Ce qui caractérise directement et essentiellement la catégorie de l'oral et de l'écouté, et ce qui donne à la littérature orale populaire son cachet de création autonome, ce sont deux traits fondamentaux :
1. le choix autonome de ses motifs et de ses thèmes;
2. la manière autonome de son élaboration, ce qui apparaît en premier lieu dans l'organisation particulière des éléments linguistiques fondamentaux.

Les motifs, les thèmes et les personnages de la création orale populaire - considérés dans des proportions mondiales et nationales - représentent un monde indépendant et autonome, qui ne s'est pas manifesté dans le domaine de la littérature écrite, et qui d'ailleurs ne pouvait y apparaître.

Toutefois, on peut trouver des attestations similaires, conformes ou identiques dans la manière d'élaborer la matière, dans le choix des motifs et dans l'exploitation des éléments linguistiques. Mais dans le fonds même des principes d'organisation de l'expression linguistique, ainsi que dans l'application et l'élaboration des processus créateurs, il existe réellement deux formes et deux systèmes d'expression littéraire et artistique.

II

Le conte populaire - en tant qu'expression orale en prose - a conquis un grand nombre d'intéressés, et a pénétré dans toutes les habitations humaines : dans les cabanes primitives des montagnes, dans les riches maisons bourgeoises des carrefours à grande circulation, dans les châteaux isolés des nobles. Mais aussi en tout autre lieu où les hommes se rassemblaient et demeuraient ensemble. Aujourd'hui aussi, le conte populaire pénètre dans les écoles et dans les bibliothèques, et il est à croire qu'il conservera son charme de narration dans les temps futurs.

Comme forme littéraire et moyen d'expression, le conte populaire est dans un sens déterminé, plus ouvert et plus libre - ou bien un genre littéraire plus extensible. Il peut englober un nombre de

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de sujets différents beaucoup plus vaste que les poèmes lyriques ou épiques, et il réclame - relativement - moins d'exigences pour sa forme et son expression. Cela signifie en vérité que ses cadres sont plus vastes, ses exigences plus librement posées, et que les conteurs se sentent - relativement - plus libres.

Fondamentalement et essentiellement, les conteurs populaires se trouvent placés devant les exigences générales du processus créateur tout comme les poètes des chansons lyriques ou épiques. Or, quoique se trouvant devant les mêmes problèmes quant à la formation, les conteurs populaires ont encore une difficulté en plus. Les expressions lyriques ou épiques ont leur aspect visible et formel sous forme de vers, donc elles ont leurs cadres et leurs limites dont elles ne peuvent sortir en aucun cas. Pour l'expression narrative ces obstacles visibles et formels n'existent pas, et tout se limite aux exigences internes.

Dans l'expression du conteur se manifestent le plus - ou du moins le plus évidemment - sa psychologie et sa culture, ainsi que les lois de la communication et de la tradition. Un fait essentiel et décisif précède toutes les interprétations de forme, ainsi que tous les besoins de la narration dans la communication des expériences : le problème de l'économie du temps, la possibilité d'audition, et la longueur ou la brièveté du conte.

Qu'est-ce qui est possible et qu'est-ce qui ne l'est pas, qu'est-ce que l'on peut et qu'est-ce que l'on ne peut pas, qu'est-ce qui est utile et qu'est-ce qui est efficace, qu'est-ce qui est nuisible et qu'est-ce qui produira un effet émouvant et excitant ? Comment tenir le tout dans le cadre d'une hypothèse réelle, vitale, déterminée à l'avance ? Ce sont les questions que se pose tout conteur populaire. S'il ne les a pas en tête, l'accueil fait à sa narration par le public lui ouvrira vite les yeux et lui imposera encore plus énergiquement les questions mentionnées. Aucun conteur ne peut les esquiver !

Comment chaque conteur résoud - il ces questions? jusqu'à quel degré les porte - t-il ?, quelle est la qualité atteinte ?, ce sont des questions qui se renouvellent toujours devant le processus créateur.

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Chaque conteur résoud ces questions individuellement, s'il porte en soi les hypothèses subjectives pour ce genre de travail; les schémas de par eux-mêmes n'aident pas beaucoup.

Les conteurs eux-mêmes ne nous ont jamais rien dit de tout cela. Tout est dans leur oeuvre, dans le conte réalisé. C'est en lui que se cachent toutes les conclusions que nous devons chercher par la réflexion et l'analyse.

III

C'est pour cette raison, tout à fait justifiée, que nous parlons du style du conte populaire, qui se manifeste dans la manière de composer et la narration de la matière donnée. Avant tout envisageons la manière elle-même de présenter les contes. Le conteur communique oralement le conte, les auditeurs ne font que l'écouter. Ces conditions sont également décisives et fondamentales pour la composition, la description des personnages, le choix des thèmes, le style et la manière de présenter le conte. Le conteur ne peut se comporter comme l'écrivain qui s'arrête où il veut, mais au contraire il doit tenir compte de l'intérêt direct du public exigeant, et il doit savoir envisager combien de temps il peut l'écouter, ce qui attirera son attention, ce qui le repoussera de lui dans sa narration et ce qui brisera la concentration de son attention. La présence du public est un élément de grande importance dans l'effort créateur du conteur; qui plus est, son travail (création et narration du conte) ne peut s'imaginer sans public.

Pour rendre la narration plus vivante et moins fatigante, pour pouvoir l'englober et la suivre plus facilement, le conteur populaire ne fait pas la description extérieure de ses personnages, ni de la nature, ni des animaux; il ne décrit pas non plus les événements en détails. Le conteur ne donne le plus souvent que l'essentiel des actions ou des événements, comme il se manifeste par son résultat dans la réalité, tandis qu'il présente les personnages importants dans leurs activités ou dans les travaux qu'ils exécutent. Les auditeurs ou les lecteurs doivent eux-mêmes dans leur imagination animer les personnages et les scènes où se déroulent les actions, d'après les

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résultats et les impressions que les personnages eux-mêmes éprouvent dans le conte. C'est en se fondant sur ces données les plus sommaires et présentées d'une manière particulière que le lecteur ou l'auditeur doit concevoir et construire les plans, les personnages et l'action du conte dans sa libre imagination.

C'est une caractéristique exclusive et spécifique des contes populaires, qui leur donne leur charme spécial et leur attirance.

La narration du conte a lieu en contact direct entre le conteur et l'auditeur. Dans la narration, notamment dans les contes de fées, pour atteindre la plus grande persuasion possible, le conteur doit mettre à profit son attitude personnelle et sa manière de présentation, afin que tout soit bien convainquant. Souvent le conteur s'en rapporte à d'autres conteurs connus et estimés. Le conteur lui-même ne doit jamais introduire le moindre doute par quoi que ce soit sur l'authenticité de sa narration, mais au contraire il doit donner la juste mesure qui est nécessaire dans de telles occasions. S'il n'agit pas de la sorte il ne sera ni écouté, ni estimé du public.

Chez nous, comme chez les autres peuples, on trouve des caractéristiques de style communes à la composition et à l'architecture des contes populaires (par ex. : les débuts et les fins, les introductions et les conclusions, les procédés " in medias res", les formules de passage, le choix des personnages contrastants, le fonds de motifs communs et autres). Ici complètement et plus expressivement, ailleurs pauvrement et moins expressivement. Ces caractéristiques proviennent des conditions particulières de la formation, du développement et de la vie des contes, aussi bien chez nous que chez les autres peuples; elles attestent la longue et profonde culture qui s'est bâtie au cours de leur vie et de leur développement comme genre littéraire. On peut dire avec juste raison, que cette culture s'est développée et s'est formée à travers les siècles, d'une manière analogue à ce qui s'est produit pour les autres genres littéraires dans les divers domaines artistiques.

D'après ce qui vient d'être mentionné, on peut conclure indubi-

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tablement que les contes populaires ne peuvent être simplement transférés, qu'ils ne sont pas des créations mortes et mécaniques qui passent d'un homme à l'autre, d'une génération à l'autre.

Ce sont des organismes vivants qui vivent selon des lois littéraires déterminées. Et s'ils se réalisent mieux et plus complètement l'oeuvre, son résultat, en est d'autant mieux et plus complètement réalisée.

Les lois littéraires régissant la vie du conte populaire - comme nous l'avons déjà mentionné - comprennent :

a. Pas n'importe quel thème, mais un thème déterminé, approprié;
b. une manière d'élaboration édifiée, classée et dûment choisie;
c. une forme appliquée d'une manière exemplaire et minutieusement choisie : l'expression du conte populaire;
d. un personnage correspondant, capable et doué, qui englobera tout de son esprit créateur et réalisera une oeuvre achevée.

Ce sont des faits incontestables et indubitables.

Nous soulignons particulièrement les caractéristiques du conte populaire, car nous l'étudions comme une tendance et une réalisation artistique littéraire bien déterminée.

IV

La matière et les événements qui servent de fondation au conte populaire ne sont pas collectés, ni reliés par hasard, comme ils se présentent; et il est impossible à autrui de les emprunter littéralement tels qu'il les entend. Ce qui est décisif ici, c'est la force créatrice et l'interprétation du conteur, qui harmonise et ordonne tout le conte.

D'autre part, le conte et le conteur, durant la narration, se trouvent sous les exigences déterminées de ceux qui les écoutent. Le public n'accepte et ne retient que certains contes, alors qu'il ne prend même pas garde aux autres. Cela veut dire que le public attend dans le conte une intrigue et un dénouement déterminés et qu'on ne peut lui conter n'importe quoi, n'importe comment. Cette circonstance psichologique est décisive pour la composition du conte populaire et en même temps pour son existence. Eu égard à la grande concurrence

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qui règne entre eux, certains contes se maintiennent, sont notés et parviennent jusqu'à nous, tandis que les autres s'oublient et disparaissent.

Les conteurs ne sont pas dans le peuple des êtres inconnus, anonymes; bien au contraire, ils sont appréciés et vénérés dans leur milieu; chacun d'eux jouit plus ou moins d'une renommée selon son véritable mérite et selon ce qu'il peut offrir au public par sa narration. Il existe une déférence particulière envers les conteurs, car ils peuvent par la parole et la pensée toucher à vif même une personne présente. Devant une telle arme, les hommes ont toujours ressenti un profond respect et une peur justifiée.

Les conteurs eux-mêmes font grand cas de leur art. Une tension secrète existe entre eux à cause de la concurrence possible et des capacités supérieures. Pour cette raison, ils savent marquer leur sympathie ou antipathie personnelles quand ils parlent des autres.

Les conteurs ne veulent pas prendre la parole toujours et en chaque occasion; mais seulement dans les occasions particulières et favorables, par ex. après le travail, le soir, en société, lors de diverses fêtes et autres. Donc, toujours là, où ils peuvent trouver un public reconnaissant et une grande incitation à la concentration totale.

Afin de pouvoir retenir longtemps des contes déterminés, et afin de savoir les raconter selon diverses exigeances et circonstances, le conteur populaire classe dans sa mémoire les contes populaires d'une manière qui lui est propre. Parfois la classification se fait d'après le titre général, parfois d'après le thème principal ou l'action, parfois d'après les personnages ou d'après certaines particularités. En tout cas, chaque conteur populaire a sa propre classification des contes et son répertoire personnel; particulièrement s'il en sait beaucoup et s'il s'adonne à ce travail assez souvent.

La langue, la phrase, le style du conteur portent les marques de sa personnalité et de son milieu. Toutefois, son langage n'est pas le langage de tous les jours, mais un langage plus recherché, plus imagé, que seul, lui, peut employer. C'est un langage soutenu et

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vivant, que le milieu et le pays du conteur peut comprendre, mais qui est pourtant capable d'exprimer artistiquement ce qui vit dans les hommes et la société. Ce langage est plus pur et plus beau que celui de tous les jours. Pour les milieux villageois et paysans, il est une sorte de langue littéraire. Naturellement, cela ne se manifeste pas d'une manière égale dans tous les contes populaires; mais plus dans les meilleurs, moins dans les médiocres.

V

Sous la lumière de ces observations qui découvrent l'homme vivant et sa parole prononcée, nous soulignons particulièrement la présence de conditions historiques et ambiantes préliminaires dans la présentation du conteur et la langue des contes. Les hypothèses historiques et leurs éléments composants se reflètent nécessairement dans les contes, car ni le conte, ni le conteur ne vivent en dehors de l'histoire et de la société.

Et quand Max Lüthi (dans : Das europäische Volksmärchen, Bern, 1947) mentionne que :"les personnages n'ont pas de caractéristiques individuelles dans les contes" et qu'ils sont "les visages de silhouettes incorporelles, sans propre psichologie, en dehors du temps et de l'espace", qu'ils sont " des personnages sans liaisons internes profondes avec leur entourage", que "l'action se meut selon sa ligne abstraite de composition bien déterminée" et que dans le conte populaire, il s'agit " d'un style à dimension unique et abstrait" - on est alors en présence d'un profond malentendu avec certains faits fondamentaux des contes populaires.

Nous posons tout simplement la question suivante : un homme concret peut-il avec sa parole vivante, prononcée et qui a été dite, être hors du moment historique, sans dévoiler pour cela son appartenance selon le degré de ses sentiments humains ?

Avec ces arguments, nous émettons l'opinion que la thèse qui identifie la langue avec le folklore, et la parole avec la littérature écrite (R.Jacobson - P.Bogatyrev : Die Folklore als eine besondere Form des Schaffens, Selected Writings, IV, The Hague - Paris, 1966) est également en profond désaccord avec les lois internes structurelles

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des contes et de la narration du conteur. Les différences sont essentielles et insurmontables :

a. d'une part, entre la langue et son système dans lequel la société et l'histoire ne peuvent changer que peu et graduellement, l'ordre établi;
b. d'autre part, entre le conte et le conteur qui reflètent d'une façon plus vivante et plus directe les événements historiques.

La part de l'histoire et de ses forces actives est essentiellement présente dans le système linguistique et le folklore, mais elle agit tout autrement, et laisse des empreintes bien différentes dans le système linguistique et dans ce que nous appelons le folklore.

.....

Ces observations ont tout d'abord un caractère méthodologique : Je désire attirer l'attention sur les recherches méthodologiques concernant la matière des contes et sur la logique méthodologique spécifique dans l'explication théorique des formes et des structures du conte populaire.

C'est pour cette raison que je me suis limité au dialogue avec deux représentants marquants et théoriciens sur les lois et les structures du conte populaire Roman Jacobson et Max Lüthi. J'en ai profité également pour présenter ma critique.

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Sesiunea III
29-VIII. 16-19

L. Bîrgu-Georgescu
Ligia Bîrgu-Georgescu

Éléments d'absurde dans la prose populaire

L'analyse compositionnelle et linguistique de la prose populaire (narrations fantastiques ou des narrations-nouvelles) signale plusieurs déviations sémantiques se manifestant de préférence au niveau de certains motiphèmes[1].

Nous donnons au terme absurde une valeur relative et citons à ce propos Albert Camus:"...l'absurdité naît d'une comparaison. Je suis donc fondé à dire que le sentiment de l'absurdité ne naît pas du simple examen d'un fait ou d'une impression mais qu'il jaillit de la comparaison entre un état de fait et une certaine réalité, entre une action et le monde qui la dépasse. L'absurde est essentiellement un divorce. Il n'est ni dans l'un, ni dans l'autre des éléments comparés. Il naît de leur confrontation"[2].

La déviation absurde se produit également par rapport à un élément postulé réel ou à un élément postulé fantastique dans la structure narrative. Face au fantastique, l'absurde conserve une valeur de surprise susceptible de l'en différencier, la perception d'une incompatibilité fondamentale...(l'absurde, L.G.)" viole les règles de la logique. Une idée absurde est une idée dont les éléments sont incompatibles...Au sens courant absurde désigne tout ce qui est contraire au sens commun ou même à nos habitudes d'esprit"[3].

L'absurde englobe 16,9% des fonctions occurentes dans le matériel examiné; il est totalement absent des légendes et des récits[4].

Nous présentons, à titre illustratif, quelques exemples: ex.1) Le renard vole des poissons à un pêcheur. Il rencontre un ours qui lui demande par quel moyen il a obtenu les poissons. Le

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renard explique qu'il les a pêché à l'aide de sa queue et lui indique une bonne place. Crédule, l'ours suit le conseil mais durant la nuit l'eau gèle et sa queue se rompt. L'ours resta désormais sans queue[5].

ex.2) Le héros cherche du feu. Il en trouve chez un Dragon qui lui demande en échange une histoire que personne n'a vue ni entendue. Le héros raconte qu'aux mariage de ses parents il fut envoyé par ceux-ci moudre du blé pour le festin. Mais le moulin s'en était allé au paturage. Le héros appelle à son aide le meunier. Celuieci prend une hâche, il en frappe à gauche, il en frappe à droite. Mimant la scène, le héros coupe la tête du Dragon[6].

ex.3) Vendu par erreur au diable, le cadet de 101 frères est soumis par ce dernier au suivantes épreuves telles que:

- a) labourer une forêt, ensemencer du blé et apporter un pain frais de la nouvelle récolte au cours d'une seule nuit.
- b) aller au champ avec chaque abeille séparément et avec toutes à la fois sans en perdre une seule.

Le héros se fait aider par la fille du diable, qu'il épouse par la suite[7].

ex.4) Păcală, représentant de notre astuce populaire, s'engage comme domestique chez un prêtre pour venger ses frères trompés par ce dernier. Le prêtre a pour habitude d'établir le contrat suivant avec les serviteurs: celui qui, du maître ou du serviteur se fâchera le premier aura le dos tailladé au couteau; le serviteur, de plus, ne recevra pas de salaire pour son travail. Le prêtre exige que Păcală mange un pain qui cependant devra rester entier. Păcală en mange la mie et en rend la croûte. Partant à l'église, le prêtre ordonne à Păcală de travailler de la même façon que son voisin. Le voisin est en train de démolir le vieux toit de sa maison pour le remplacer par un nouveau toit. Păcală détruit donc le beau toit neuf

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qui recouvre la maison du prêtre. Bref, Păcală poussera le prêtre à se reconnaître fâché et le punira[8].

Des fois, les élémants absurdes apparaissent dans la formule initiale des contes:

ex.5) "Il y avait une fois comme jamais, il n'y a pas longtemps, hier ou avant-hier un temps où les puces se promenaient chaussées de coquilles de noix et allaient prier le dimanche et les jours de fête". Les éléments ultérieurs s'assortissent au cadre: deux jeunes gens prétendent avoir retiré la lune d'une fontaine..Ravie de la sagesse de ses fils, leur mère offre du vin à tout le monde. Un passant qui éssaie de rétablir la vérité est battu[9].

ex.6) Un homme demande à sa femme de lui préparer du chou au lard. La femme répand tout le lard existant dans la maison sur les choux du jardin. Désespéré, le mari s'en va promettant de revenir seulement, s'il rencontrera des hommes plus stupides que sa femme. Il arrive dans un village où les habitants s'efforcent à jeter des noix au grenier avec fleur fourches. Ailleurs on construit une maison sans fenêtres et on s'efforce à transporter la lumière dans la maison à l'aide d'un sac, d'un pot, d'un chapeau etc. Vaincu, par tant de bêtise le mari rentre à la maison[10].

ex.7) Un boyard promet la moitié de ses richesses à celui qui résoudra la devinette suivante: "Quatre entretiennent huit, huit ne peuvent entretenir quatre". Aidé par sa fille, un paysan réponde: il s'agit des quatre mois d'été qui fournissent la nourriture nécessaire pour la période restante de huit mois, Intéressé par l'astuce de la fille, le boyard la soumet à d'autres épreuves:

-a) confectionner un costume à partir d'une fusée. La fille exige en échange qu'on lui confectionne un métier à tisser du bois du fuseau. Le boyard fait sculpter le métier à tisser dans le fuseau, la fille, à sontour lui confectionne un habit en filet de pêcheur.

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-b) venir lui rendre visite ni à cheval, ni à pied, ni sur le chemin, ni par le fossé, ni avec un cadeau, ni sans cadeau. La fille arrive à cheval sur un chien, trainant les jambes sur le sol, près du fossé. Elle apporte un moineau qu'elle laisse voler lorsqu'elle arrive devant le boyard. Le boyard, charmé de l'intelligence de la fille l'épouse[11].

ex.8) Un empereur accompagné de trois conseillers rencontre un vieillard qui laboure aidé par un enfant. Après l'avoir salué, l'empereur lui demande:

- Est-il loin le lointain? et au vieillard de répondre:
- O monseigneur, jusque entre les cornes des boeufs.
- Tu t'es levé tard! remarque l'empereur.
- O, c'est la septième fois que je me couche et je me lève.
- J'ai trois béliers mon vieux! Pourrais -tu les traire?
- Si le berger est bon - vous savez bien, celui qui fait passer les brebis pour les traire - sûrement.

Se séparant du vieillard, l'empereur ordonne tour à tour aux trois conseillers de déchiffrer les questions et les réponses. Ceux-ci ne réussissent qu'à l'aide du vieillard "Est-il loin le lointain" se réfère à la distance jusqu'à laquelle voit le vieillard. Dans "tu t'es levé tard", l'empereur constate que l'enfant est trop jeune par rapport à l'âge du vieillard. Le vieillard répond que c'est seulement sa septième femme qui lui a donné un fils. Dans la troisième question. les béliers à traire sont les trois conseillers. L'empereur demande en fait au vieillard s'il peut les tromper et leur extorquer de l'argent. La réponse indique le rôle d'auxiliaire que peut jouer (et que joue en fait, par ses ordres) l'empereur, dont les conseillers paieront les fortes sommes au vieillard pour comprendre la discussion[12].

L'analyse du matériel suggère trois catégories possibles de situations absurdes:

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I. L'absurde se manifeste au niveau des fonctions 25, 26 (inventaire de Propp) ou au niveau de la fonction "épreuve" - Greimas-ienne.[13] Un pôle réel (nos connaissances concernant les actions de labourer, ensemencer, moudre, etc. dans l'exemple No.3) s'oppose à un pôle absurde incompatible: réalisation au cours d'une seule nuit. Le conflit se résout par un médiateur: la fille du diable, qui aide le héros. Dans l'exemple 4, un pôle réel (manger un pain) s'oppose à un pôle absurde incompatible (le pain doit rester intact). Ce type d'absurde se révèle prédominant dans les contes fantastiques.

II. Dans la deuxième catégorie nous regroupons les situations absurdes issues de la négation d'une conjonction d'antonymes (voir ex.7): ni à cheval ni à pied, ni avec cadeau, ni sans cadeau etc. (alors que avec un cadeau élimine par présupposition l'hypothèse sans un cadeau etc.).La fille promet de mener à bien l'épreuve absurde mais exige en échange l'éxecution d'une condition toute aussi absurde (ou même plus absurde) ou un instrument dont l'absurdité s'accorde avec l'absurdité de la tâche. D'une fonction absurde initiale dérive donc une nouvelle fonction absurde de nature à provoquer souvent la perception de l'"absurdité" première (et le renoncement, en faveur du héros, à l'épreuve).

Ce type, comme celui présenté dans la premiere categorie, est encadré dans la schéma syntagmatique "épreuve", Il s'en distingue cependant par le fait que l'absurde provoque dans ce cas la concaténation de plusieurs fonctions absurdes, change la composition du message narratif.

Nous insérons dans cette catégorie l'exemple (moins évident) 6: le héros abandonne sa femme à cause d'une action absurde faite par celle-ci. Par enchainement, l'action absurde initiale le contraint à devenir spectateur d'une multitude d'autres actions absurdes. Enfin, il nous semble que l' exemple 1,2,5 provoque un enchainement absurde similaire.

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III. L'absurde basé sur l'ambiguïté de l'énoncé:

- Est-il loin le lointain?

- Jusque entre les cornes des boeufs.

On peut décoder de deux façons l'énoncé: premièrement "nonsens" deuxièmement: "réel" -"je vois seulement jusque entre les cornes des boeufs". Le héros est éprouvé du point de vue linguistique. Mentionnons à ce propos aussi la forme inverse: un énoncé "normal" avec décodage absurde: le prêtre recommande à Păcală de travailler de la même manière que son voisin (Păcală commettra par la suite une action absurde imprévue.

A la différence de la première catégorie (où le médiateur est un personnage auxiliaire - la fille du diable etc.), dans la deuxième et la troisième catégorie c'est le héros lui-même qui provoque une "normalisation" de l'absurde, qui fonctionne en tant que médiateur.

L'absurde caractérise. Il sert spécialement à mettre en relief l'intelligence du héros. Sa fréquence croît dans les narrations-nouvelles et les facéties par rapport aux contes fantastiques (25, 9% par rapport à 13,6% respectivement).

L'absurde ne tient pas uniquement au niveau de l'énoncé. Il définit aussi bien le niveau compositionnel du récit.

Il serait peut-être intéressant de comparer l'absurde occurent dans la littérature à l'absurde occurent dans les textes folkloriques. Ce n'était pas le but du présent ouvrage.

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NOTES

1) Le terme de motiphème est emprunté à Alan Dundes, The Morphologhy of North American Indian Folktales, F.F.C.,195,1964,59.

2) Cf.Albert Camus, Le mythe de Sisyphe, Paris, Gallimard, 1942,48.

3) Cf.André Lalande, Vocabulaire Technique et critique de la philosophie, Paris, 1968,1,11-12.

4) Nous nous sommes servis exclusivement de trois volumes de l'Anthologie de prose épique populaire (Antologia de proză populară epică) par O.Bîrlea.

5) Ovidiu Bîrlea, Antologie de proză epică populară, E.P.L.,București I, 115;Type 2,ATh.

6) Idem, I,344;Type 1920 H, A.Th.

7) Idem, I, 361-2;Type 303 A,A.Th.

8) Idem, III, 43-4;Type 3000, La bibliographie des facéties populaires roumaine, par Sabina Stroescu.

9) Idem, III,166;Type 1335 A,A.Th.

10) Idem, III, 169;Type 1386,A.Th.

11) Idem,II, 527-9;Type 875,A.Th.

12) Idem,II, 554-6;Type 921,A.Th.

13) A.J.Greimas, Sémantique structurale, Paris, Larousse,1966,196-8.

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Nada Milošević

CORRESPONDENCE DES GENRES EN PROSE ET EN VERS DANS LA LITTÉRATURE ORALE SERBOCROATE

Des rapports entre les genres en prose et en vers ont été souvent étudiés, mais principalement du point de vue de l'origine des différents genres, du point de vue de leur genèse, dans les temps les plus reculés de la société humaine. C'est ainsi qu'on a étudié les rapports entre le mythe, le conte merveilleux, la légende et l'épopée, ayant particulièrement en vue l'explication des origines de la poésie épique. On a examiné, entre autre, la définition théorique de la notion du motif et du sujet, des ressemblances génétique et typologique, des données créatrices historiques et sociales.

On a prêté moins d'attention aux problèmes de la similitude des thèmes et des sujets entre la poésie et la prose dans la littérature orale, dans un répertoire existant et ayant déjà ses formes affirmées. Gène A. Morokoff[1] et après lui Archer Taylor[2] ont trouvé dans le catalogue de Aarne-Thompson des parallèles en prose des ballades de Child. Selon Taylor un nombre relativement restreint de parallèles entre les ballades et les contes merveilleux peuvent être expliqués par des différences de structure. En outre il a constaté l'existence d'un nombre beaucoup plus important de parallèles, entre les autres espèces en proses. Maja Bošković - Stulli[3] a étudié la transformation du conte merveilleux en poésie épique dans la littérature serbocroate, pour arriver à la conclusion que les sujets, quelquesoit le genre auquel ils appartiennent, ne sont qu'un schèma abstrait, avant de prendre une forme concrète. Hinrich Siuts[4] s'est occupé des influences réciproques, très fréquentes entre les ballades et les contes allemands, et il a constaté que la transformation des différents genres poètiques et des formes narratives est possible dans la plupart des cas dans les deux sens. En étudiant le même problème, dans les littératures slaves Oldřich Sirovátka[5] a souligné l'affinité qui existe entre la matière et le genre, en insistant sur les lois qui règnent dans les échanges des motifs.

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Dans le domaine de la littérature populaire serbocroate, les thèmes qui apparaissent parallèlement en prose et en vers sont assez nombreux. La poésie populaire lyrique est riche en légendes /Sagen/. A toute une série de contes merveilleux et de mythes, de légendes et de contes religieux on peut trouver des pendants plus ou moins complets en forme de ballades ou de chansons épiques narratives. De vrais chants épiques qui appartiennent aux cycles des chants racontant des événements historiques bien connus et complètent les biographies des personnages épiques et historiques, s'apparentent à des légendes en prose, soit qu'ils les précèdent, soit qu'ils leur succèdent en se fondant sur elles. S'adaptant à un milieu héroïque, des réseaux complexes d'aventures relevant du genre de la nouvelle prennent souvent la forme de chants épiques. Dans toute cette variété de rapports qu'entretiennent entre eux, dans la littérature populaire serbocroate, les genres en prose et les genres en vers, nous nous sommes attaché à l'étude des thèmes "nonhistoriques" dont les sujets se présentent sous forme de conte merveilleux, de légende et de conte religieux d'un côté, et sous forme de poésie narrative, lyrique et épique, de l'autre. Dans ce domaine, l'étude de tout un complexe de thèmes se rapportant au mariage d'un être humain avec un être surnaturel peut être d'un grand profit. Le conte merveilleux sur la mère ou la soeur infidèle qui devient la maîtresse d'un géant / Aath 59o / se transforme, dans la littérature populaire serbocroate, en chant épique. Le sujet bien connu de la fée qui, après être devenue l'épouse du héros, réussit à s'echapper, apparaît sous forme de légende /Christiansen 4o8o/ et de conte merveilleux /Aath 4oo/, mais aussi bien sous forme de chants narratifs, épiques et lyriques. Le sujet international sur l'Amour et Psyché, le plus souvent développé en conte merveilleux /Aath 425/, s'adapte très facilement à la forme épique . Des contes merveilleux,

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des légendes, ainsi que des chants épiques , s'élaborent à partir d'un complexe de motifs assez ferme se rapportant au dragon séducteur d'une femme de race humaine. Une chanson de moeurs née sous l'influence de la légende de Lénore stimule la création du chant épique sur le frère mort.

Les thèmes exploités par la littérature écrite religieuse, mais traités également dans la poésie populaire serbocroate ne sont pas moins intéressants pour des investigations des rapports existant entre les différents genres. Bien qu'ils soient nés de la littérature écrite et qu'ils se soient développés sous son influence, ces chants épiques contiennent nombre d'éléments des légendes et représentent à maints égards, de même que la littérature qui leur a servi de prototype, un prolongement christianisé des systèmes religieux beaucoup plus anciens, un mélange vivant de magie et de cultes, du merveilleux et du prodigieux, de la sorcellerie et de la prière, une rencontre du panthéon païen et du panthéon chrétien. Ainsi la légende de saint Georges largement exploitée dans des textes apocryphes et dans la littérature écrite apparaît d'ordinaire sous une forme épique orale, mais en même temps ne se distingue pas beaucoup des éléments plus archaïques contenus dans des légendes et des chansons de moeurs. La légende dualiste de la création de la terre prend forme de poésie épique sur la fin du monde et la pénitence des hommes dans l'au-delà se développent sous l'influence de la Bible, des Pale et des apocalypses apocryphes, qui leur empreignent moins leur esprit que leur structure. Beaucoup de péchés proscrits par la religion ainsi que par les moeurs : le parjure et la médisance, l'inceste et le parrainage infidèle, l'inhumanité et le manque d'hospitalité sont incorporés dans la trame épique.

Sans nous attacher à l'étude de l'origine et de la forme première de ces sujets, en constatant seulement leur présence dans la gamme riche des formes existantes, en nous appuyant sur des caractéristique à peu près définies et acquises par la théorie

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des genres oraux, nous avons émis l'hypothèse de l'appartenance initiale du sujet donné à l'une de ces formes existantes. Traitant la littérature religieuse comme une grande fournisseuse de thèmes poètiques, nous avons examiné la manière dont un sujet légendaire provenant de la littérature écrite s'adapte à la vie orale et prend forme d'un chant narratif, lyrique ou épique . Au cours de cette action modificatrice, durant cette adaptation aux différents genres, se produisent des changements dans la structure du sujet, dans le choix et dans la distribution des motifs, ainsi que dans le rôle des personnages. D'autre part, certains éléments restent invariables. C'est à eux surtout, que nous avons prété attention. Nous ne nous proposons pas d'examiner tous ces éléments, nous ne les considérons pas non plus comme des conditions exclusives pour la transposition d'un sujet d'une forme à l'autre, - cette fois seulement nous nous bornerons à souligner la présence de ceux qui ont dans tel ou tel cas pu contribuer à la transformation de la forme en prose d'un sujet donné en sa forme en vers.

En étudiant le conte merveilleux de la mère infidèle/Aath 59o/, Maja Bošković-Stulli a déjà remarqué que le motif de l'infidélité étant souvent traité dans la poésie populaire épique des Slaves méridionaux avait pu attirer le conte merveilleux avec un sujet pareil"dans le champ magnétique de la chanson héroique",[6] c'est-à-dire qu'il représentait un des facteurs qui ont rendu possible cette transformation. Il faudrait, cependant, mentionner également plusieurs autres facteurs qui ont joué le même rôle, - en tout premier lieu le personnage principal du conte,[7] le prince héros, qui, par sa force, son courage et sa noblesse d'âme, correspondait aussi bien au conte merveilleux qu'au chant épique.[8] On peut y ajouter la lutte avec des adversaires autrement plus forts, l'accomplissement des tâches difficiles, l'apparition d'un auxiliaire qui se met à la disposition du héros. C'est-à-dire que la transformation du conte merveilleux en chant épique s'est réalisé en premier lieu grâce a la presence agissante de ces elements dans les deux formes traditionelles existantes en conte de

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même comme en chant épique, et d'autant plus facilement que leur provenance commune du conte héroïque est incontestable. L'impulsion initiale pour la transformation du conte en chant épique, et très probablement due à une sorte de ballade au contenu semblable, bien répandue dans la littérature populaire serbocroate comme l'a déjà remarqué Maja Bošković-Stulli. Cette ballade décrit une veuve qui, feignant d'être malade, envoie son fils lui chercher le remède, mais en realité, le jette dans le piège que lui tend son amant.[9]

Dans l'adaptation du conte merveilleux du jeune marié- serpent[10] à l'usage épique, le motif même du mariage a joué un rôle important. Cette fois-ci, c'est encore une ballade connue, celle d'une femme miraculeusement fécondée par un poisson[11] qui a donné l'impulsion initiale à l'élaboration du chant épique.[12] Utilisant uniquement les éléments qui lui convenaient, - conception miraculeuse, demande en mariage, tâches insurmontables, -le chant épique n'a pas été intéressé à décrire les pérégrinations de l'héroïne en quête de son mari-serpent, ni ses aventures survenues durant ce pénible voyage. Choisissant la fin tragique, étrange au conte merveilleux, le chant épique s'est opposé à la transformation complete du sujet du conte.

Le chant épique de la fée devenue l'épouse d'un héros[13] a rejeté lui aussi des épisodes du voyage aventureux qu'entreprend le héros dans le conte merveilleux[14] pour retrouver sa femme échappée. Il s'est fondé sur la légende de structure ferme, la "fabulata" de la fée-épouse, avec le même sujet,[15] en utilisant aussi la ballade bien connue sur la fée gardienne des eaux[16] dont l'interêt réside dans la capture de la fée et le combat du héros avec elle, c'est-a-dire dans les éléments qui sont bien familiers à un chant épique. C'est le héros qui devient le personnage principal du chant épique, tandis que dans des légendes primitives, basées sur différentes croyances, le personnage principal était la fée. Ces chants s'efforcent de lier leurs sujets à un nom historique, et cet effort révèle une

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tendance plus profonde de la poésie épique à démontrer l'origine surnaturelle de ses héros. Ce moment généalogique est surtout souligné dans les chants sur le dragon séducteur où les éléments de légende l'emportent sur les éléments du conte merveilleux. Cette prédominance se révèle surtout dans la manière de concevoir le monde; les rapports entre le naturel et le surnaturel sont temporaires, rarement amicaux mais toujours émotifs, et ont souvent des conséquences graves. On peut dire, en général, que le chant épique narratif emprunte sa construction au conte, mais c'est des légendes que notre épique narrative puise sa vivacité et la vitalité de ses héros. Ainsi la fée-épouse du chant épique n'est pas un personnage pâle, inconsistant et abstrait du conte merveilleux, mais, ~~un~~ venant de la légende, un personnage vivant et bien réel qui lutte contre l'homme et souffre à cause de lui. Le dragon séducteur est un être mythologique, mais aussi un être vulnérable à qui on peut faire du mal et qu'on peut même tuer. Dans la chanson épique l'acte de brûler la peau enlevée du jeune-marié-serpent ne constitue pas une délivrance de l'enchantement, comme dans le conte merveilleux, mais la condamnation définitive et le plus souvent la fin de la vie du héros, qui n'a pas l'avantage d'être immortel. Dans le conte merveilleux, comme dans le conte religieux le monde des vivants et le monde des morts peuvent être unis. La mort dans le conte merveilleux n'est qu'un moment indolore, suivi immédiatement d'une vie nouvelle. La vie terrestre dans le conte religieux ne représente que le changement extérieur de l'ambiance, un moment d'abandon de l'éternité, à laquelle l'homme retourne de nouveau. La légende ne compte qu'avec la vie réelle et ne permet pas de passages d'un monde à l'autre. Cette impossibilité d'unir les deux mondes, cette façon de compter seulement sur la vie terrestre et la peur de la mort qui en résulte, l'épique narrative serbocroate les tient de la légende.

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Si la construction des épisodes et la connexion des motifs du conte qui mène son héros à un but et aux victoires correspondaient à la construction du chant épique, la stylisation des personnages devait être différente. Non seulement parcequ'ils aient reçu des noms et que l'action tout entière se déroulât dans une ambiance réelle et dans un domaine géographique, mais en premier lieu parce que la construction des personnages dans la poésie demandait une analyse bien plus fouillée de leurs conflicts psychologiques, et parce qu'elle les a dotés de la vie intérieure.

La poésie épique narrative serbocroate emprunte cette partie émotive de son sujet au chant lyrique narratif qui lui sert très souvent de base poétique. L'existence des chants lyriques narratifs qui ont un sujet pareil représente souvent le facteur qui a contribué le plus, par l'intermédiaire des genres en prose, à la naissance de la chanson épique narrative. Ainsi la variante lyrique de la chanson de la mère infidèle a aidé la transformation du conte merveilleux en chant épique. La chanson lyrique narrative de la fée gardienne des eaux a stimulé la transformation de la légende de la fée épousée par le héros en chant épique. S'appuyant sur la légende de Lénore,[19] une chanson de moeurs bien connue dans la poésie serbocroate[20] a acquis des caractères épiques.[21] Maintes chansons lyriques narratives aux sujets légendaires, ont joué elles aussi un rôle important dans la création des chansons épiques aux sujets provenant de la littérature religieuse.

Pour cette fois nous nous sommes contentés de suivre la formation de quelques chants épiques seulement, bien répandus dans la littérature populaire serbocroate, qui ont puisé leurs sujets dans la littérature religieuse. Nous nous sommes intéressé à la chanson épique de saint Georges[22] qui raconte une partie de la Vie de saint Georges, à la chanson de Siméon-enfant trouvé, en tant que mélange de hagiographie en vers sur Paul de Césarée et sur le pape Grégoire le grand, aux chansons narratives sur la créa-

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tion de la terre[23], ou sur le Jugement dernier[24], [illegible] La même question s'est posée de nouveau: quelles sont les forces d'attraction qui ont été à l'origine de la transformation d'un grand nombre de sujets religieux en chansons populaires épiques[9]. Certains traits communs qui ont pu favoriser cette transformation sont assez visibles. C'est d'abord la conception du personnage principal, c'est-à-dire du héros, qui représente la vertu même, et qui se distingue dans son milieu par ses qualités exceptionnelles. Dans la littérature religieuse le héros représente une hyperbole vivante de la force d'âme. D'après Jolles[25] c'est une vertu active /Tätige Tugend/ et elle doit s'affirmer par le miracle qui représente son résultat naturel. Le personnage qui incarne la vertu est donné comme le modèle à suivre. Il agît en facteur educatif, c'est-à-dire, il se comporte de la même façon que le héros épique. Ses qualités ont le même effet que celle du héros dans la poésie populaire épique. La vertu d'un héros doit se manifester par un exploit, de même que la vertu d'un saint doit être confirmée par un miracle, et c'est ainsi que le miracle prend avec l'exploit la même place dans la construction du conte, se situe sur le même niveau. La vertu suprême produit avec l'aide de Dieu un miracle; grâce à son courage suprême et à sa force physique le héros accomplit un exploit. Cet exploit devient à la fin l'idéal éthique du degré suprême de l'évolution de la société héroïque. Il a été très facile de traiter l'exploit miraculeux de saint Georges tuant le dragon comme une épreuve héroïque et de transformer ce prince de Capadoce, ce chevalier du Christ en héros national épique à l'époque où il était déjà devenu le type même du héros, synthétisant dans son personnage tous les héros tueurs de dragons qui pendant des siècles surgissaient du folklore et de la religion. Il a été aussi facile de créer le personnage du grand pécheur en tant que héros négatif condamné à expier ses péchés.

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Ecrite avec une intention bien déterminée, destinée à un public nombreux, le plus souvent anonyme, cette litterature de "Vies" et de "Légendes" contient des éléments folkloriques également. Ne pouvant pas les suprimer, elle les absorbait en le christianisant. Mentionnons seulement de nombreuses légendes du dragon qui vivait dans les étangs aux environs des villes et dévorait les gens.[26] Fondées sur les rites et la magie, ces légendes contribuent à la propagation du culte de saint Georges et reçoivent même une place dans le calendrier chrétien . Rappelons nous encore le Dieu païen slave "Dabog" que le christianisme, après l'avoir détrôné traite de diable, mais le prend tout à fait au sérieux.[27]

Les chansons épiques serbocroates ont largement utilisé la légende religieuse pour l'élaboration de leur structure. Ainsi les chansons traitant le sujet de la distribution du pouvoir entre les saints[28] ont été élaborées à partir de l'Apocalypse de Jean. De même les chansons de la Vierge Marie dans l'enfer[29] ainsi que celles de la mère de saint Pierre,[30] s'appuient sur des apocryphes.[31] La poésie épique de Siméon-enfant trouvé[32] a utilisé la légende médiévale sur le pape Grégoire et l'hagiographie sur Paul de Césarée. La chanson du mauvais riche[33] emprunte sa construction au conte biblique sur Loth. La chanson épique nonhistorique prend sa construction achevée à la littérature religieuse apocryphe, mais elle n'y puise pas directement ses motifs, puisqu'elle même les avait puisé souvent dans le folklore. La distribution des pouvoirs aux anges ne représente que l'énumération déjà connue des saints et des dieux païens. La chanson lyrique sur la distribution des cadeaux[34], fondée sur des croyances anciennes, des légendes et des rites du mariage a servie d'appui aux chansons épique largement basées sur la littérature légendaire, et les a impregnés, de même que les légendes populaires, d'une réalité optimiste et vivante, en constituant une assemblée de saints qui représentent tous de vraies individualités, en commençant par le gaillard et despotique saint Elie et en finis-

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sant par le somnolent gardien des mers saint Nicolas. Les légendes populaires introduisent la sève de la vie dans la construction sèche et sublime des chansons narratives. Une fois transformé en chanson épique, le sujet obéissait à des exigeances nouvelles du genre et évoluait en différents sens. Ainsi la légende du Jugement dernier s'est liée au Cycle de Kossovo, ou plutôt, c'est le Cycle de Kossovo qui s'est rattaché à cette légende, de même que, généralement parlant, la poésie épique pure se rattache à des légendes afin d'élargir son domaine et de donner des explications aux événements historiques.

Il faut noter que tandis qu'on peut sans aucune difficulté rapprocher la poésie épique et la littérature religieuse, on n'arrive pas facilement à mettre en rapport le conte légendaire traitant un sujet proche et la chanson épique. Suivant une voie différente et indépendente, le conte exploite un conglomérat de motifs plus anciens et plus primitifs, que la littérature religieuse et la poésie épique, précisément à cause de leurs tendences vers la pureté de la forme et du sujet, ont dû raffiner et sublimer. Cette constatation peut être éclairée par la comparaison entre les chansons épiques sur l'inceste entre la mère et le fils [35] / dans lesquelles le ton héroïque n'efface pas encore l'attitude religieuse envers le péché originel des hagiographies avec le même sujet/ d'un côté, et les contes contenant la prédiction d'un inceste imminent, [36] qui abondent en éléments purement mythologiques, de l'autre.

Dans la littérature populaire serbocroate les affinités entre la matière traitée et les genres sont très variées et prennent des formes bien différentes. Un sujet développé pourrait être comparé au plus grand dénominateur commun où chaque genre trouve des matériaux qui lui conviennent. ~~En outre~~ Entre certains genres il existe en outre des affinités et des répulsions qui encouragent cette transformation, ou bien la rendent impossible. Ainsi on peut remarquer le rôle joué par des genres qui servent

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d'intermédiaire et accélèrent l'épisation d'un sujet, ou bien on peut constater dans la matière même, la présence de certains éléments essentiels qui limitent la possibilité d'apparition de certains sujets dans certains genres. Le thème du Jugement dernier par exemple, ne prend jamais forme d'un conte merveilleux, son intérêt fondamental et l'utilisation de la notion du temps, s'opposant complètement à la tendance essentielle du conte merveilleux de placer l'action de ses héros hors du temps. Il faut tenir compte également du rôle joué par des moyens de composition et de formulation qui ordonnent et concrétisent la matière .

L'existence des mêmes thèmes et des mêmes sujets dans tous les genres de la tradition vivante, ainsi que les similitudes génétiques et typologiques que ces genres présentent, doivent être étudiées dans la littérature orale serbocroate avant tout en tenant compte de l'influence d'une poésie épique en plein essor. On a l'impression que cette poésie s'imprègne de toute cette matière traditionelle et qu'elle se reflète en elle, en stimulant souvent la création de variantes nouvelles, secondaires des formes primitives en prose. Attiré par la force de la création épique, le sujet rompt la barrière de ses formes primitives pour suivre la voie de la poésie héroique ; il devient plus souple, plus libre, se prête davantage à l'adaptation et apparaît dans différents genres de la poésie populaire serbocroate. Une impulsion épique très forte, propre à la littérature populaire serbocroate, fait prendre à la plupart de ces sujets une forme épique, même lorsque d'après certaines exigences des catégories littéraires, d'après l'affinité du genre et de la construction donnés ils n'y appartiennent pas et lorsqu'ils existent aussi parallèlement sous d'autres formes en vers et en prose. [illegible] Vatroslav Jagić a souligné une particulière inclination des Serbes et des Croates pour la poésie epique. D'après lui, cette inclination

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a fait que non seulement ces contes mythologiques, nonhistoriques sont devenus des poésies et sont rehaussés "de doux noms de héros populaires" , mais aussi que " toute cette foule de poésies dites de divertissement qui sont connues dans toute l'Europe sous forme de simples contes populaires, sur le terrain serbocroate s'expriment sous forme épique".37/

En mettant de côté le problème de la datation de la naissance de notre poésie épique et de l'identification de l'époque de son épanouissement, ne cherchant pas à délimiter l'aire de sa domination, nous sommes venu à la conclusion que la formation des chansons populaires narratives serbocroates, dans les variations des textes existant, s'est produite au moment de l'expansion des poèmes épiques historiques. Que les chansons épiques narratives aient précédé les poèmes épiques historiques, ou bien qu'elles se soient formées en même temps qu'eux ou qu'ils leur aient succédé, cela n'a guère d'importance pour nous pour le moment, mais ce qui importe c'est qu'elles se soitent formées suivant le même schèma épique et utilisant en premier lieu et le plus souvent la matière des oeuvres en prose.

Nada Milošević

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1) Gêne E. Morokoff, Whole Tale Parallels in the Child Ballads, Journal of American Folklore, 1961, 64, 2o3-266.

2) Archer Tylor, The parallels between Ballads and Tales, Jahrbuch für Volksliederforschung, 1964, IX, 1o4-116.

3) Maja Bošković-Stulli, Sižei narodnih bajki u hrvatsko-srpskim epskim pesmama. Narodna umjetnost, Zagreb 1969, I, 15-36.

4) Henrich Siuts, Voksballaden-Volkserzählungen, Motiv und Typenregister, Fabula 1962, 5, 1-2, 72-89.

5) Oldřich Syrovátka, Stoff und Gattung, Volksballade und Volkserzahlung, Fabula, 1967, 9, 1-3, 162-167.

6) Maja Bošković-Stulli, ~~Sižei narodnih bajki u hrvatsko-srpskim epskim pjesmama, Narodna umjetnost, 1962, I, 21.~~ Bibl. 21

7) ~~Entre les~~ Parmi les nombreuses variantes des contes serbocroates appartenant au type Aath 590 nous nous bornerons à citer seulement quelques unes. M. Valjavec, Narodne pripovjesti u Varaždinu i okolici, 2. ed., Zagreb, 1890, 111-116 (Peter Breborić); Hrvatske narodne pjesme I, Matica Hrvatska, Zagreb 1896, 557-56o (Le texte dié conte noté par N. Tordinac 1885); Bosanska Vila, 1894, IX, 201-202 (Tako je suđeno); R. Strohal, Hrvatske narodne pripoviedke, I, Rieka, 1886, 37-42 (O čudnem meču); V. Čajkanović, Srpske narodne pripovetke, Srpski etnografski zbornik XLI, 1927, 80-85 (Sentin); Ibid, 77-80 (Jović i div); Letopis Matice srpske 1872, CXIV, 146-151 (Jovo i divski car).

8) Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, Srpske narodne pjesme, II, ed. "Prosveta", Beograd, 1968, 29-40 (Jovan i divski starješina); Hrvatske narodne pjesme, I, ed. Matica hrvatske, Zagreb, 1896, 142-166 (Carević Jovan i nemila majka), Voir aussi les variantes dans l'article de Maja Bošković-Stulli.

9) Gerhard Gezeman, Erlangenski rukopis srpskohrvatskih narodnih pesama, SKA, Sremski Karlovci, 1925, Nº 85, 121-222; Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, Srpske narodne pjesme, V, Beograd 1898, 546-547 (Alfa zla udovica); Djordje Rajković, Srpske narodne pesme, Novi Sad, 1869, 191-194) Mati radi sinu o glavi); Des variantes principales a donné déjà J. Mahal, O bohatýrskem epose slovanském, Praha, 1894, 64-70.

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10) Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, Srpske narodne pripovijetke, Beograd, 1928, N° 9 et 10; Arhiv Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti, N° 8552/258 (Vuk Vrčević, "Žena rodila zmaja"). F. Mikuličić, Narodne pripovjetke i pjesme iz Hrvatskog Primorja, Kraljevica 1876, N° 2. (Mladić gad lip kadi sunce); Zbornik za narodni život i običaje južnih Slavena 1914, XIX, 55-57; Ibid, 1918, XXIII, 43-44; Ibid, 1940, XXXII, 115; Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja, Sarajevo, 1961, XV-XVI, 275; Svetislav Prvanović, Timočki zapisi, Zaječar 1964, 32-34.

11) Cette ballade a été étudiée par Camilla Lucerna, "Die Risa Riba", Balladen der "Unbekannten", Zagreb, 1943, 39-42. Elle apparaît en nombreuses variantes dont nous ne citerons que ~~qu'elle ques unes~~ quelques-unes. G. Gezeman, Erlangenski rukopis, N° 34, Archiv SANU, N° 8552/257 - XXVII, 18; Rajković Djordje, Srpske narodne pesme, Novi Sad, 1869, 127-128 (Šetala se riza riba); B. Petranović, Srpske narodne pjesme (ženske), I, Sarajevo, 1867, N° 21. V. aussi les variante dans l'oeuvre citée de Maja Bošković-Stulli.

12) Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, Srpske narodne pjesme, II, N° 11; Ibid, N° 12; Arhiv SANU, Etn. zb. N° 1-1, 266-269; Ibid, N° 530-1, 1-2; Ibid, N° 131, 13-17; J.F. Jukić, Ljubomir Hercegovac, Narodne piesme bosanske i hercegovačke, I, Osiek, 1858, N° 11; Stj. Mažuranić, Hrvatske narodne pjesme, Senj 1876, 112-115; Hrvatske narodne pjesme I, MH, Zagreb 1896, N° 34, etc.

13) Valtazar Bogišić, Narodne pjesme iz starijih najviše primorskih zapisa, Beograd, 1878, N° 39, 104-105, Ibid, N° 85, 231-232; S. Milutinović, Pjevanija cernogorska i hercegovačka, Leipzig, 1837, N° 122, 221-222; Hrvatske narodne pjesme, II, MH, N° 19, 61-67; Ibid, I, N° 51, 200-202; Ibid, N° 74, 397-401; B. Petranović, Srpske narodne pjesme, II, Beograd, 1867, N° 30, 375-386; etc.

14) M. Valjavec, Narodne pripovjesti, 2.ed., Zagreb, 1890, N° XI, 41-43; Ibid, N° VI, 29-31; Ibid, 104-109; F. Mikuličić, Narodne pripovietke i pjesme iz Hrvatskog Primorja, Kraljevica, 1876, N° 12; Ibid, N° 22; Bosanska vila, 1908, XXIII, 350-351; Bilten Instituta za proučavanje folklora, II, Sarajevo, 1953, le conte N° 9, 291.

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15) Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu, 1951, 209; Srbadija, 1876, 86; Luča, 1898, IV, 147-148; Bilten Instituta za proučavanje folklora, 1953, II, le coute N° 14a, 292; Ibid, le coute N° 14c, 295; Arhiv Instituta za proučavanje folklora, Sarajevo, Rkp. N° VII-G, 377; V. dans variantes T. Djordjević, Veštica i vila u našem narodnom verovanju i predanju, Srpski etnografski zbornik, LXVI, Beograd, 1953; Maja Bošković Stulli, Narodne pripovijetke, Zagreb, 1963, 271; V. aussi les variantes dans le Istarske narodne priče, Zagreb 1959, 131, du même auteur.

16) Erlangenski rukopis, le chant N° 176; Vuk, VI, N° 23, MH, II, N° 2; MH V, N° 30; MH VII, N° 331; Petranović, III, N° 15.

17) Vuk, I, le chant N° 266; Petranović, Srpske narodne pjesme (ženske) I, N° 14; N° 17; N. Bogišić, Rkp. III/4 (Bibliothèques de Cavtat), etc.

18) Vuk, II, le chant N° 42; MH, I, N° 54, MH II, N° 55, etc.

19) M. Valjavec, Narodne pripovjesti, 2. ed., Zagreb, 1890, 239; Letopis Matice srpske, 1884, CXXXVII, 118-120; Brankovo kolo, 1896, XI, 350-351; R. Strohal, Hrvatske narodne pripov., I, 114-115; II, 34-35; III 101-103; A. Gavrilović, Dvadeset srpskih narodnih pripov., 2. ed., Beograd, 1925, 49-51; Srpski etnografski zbornik, 1934, L, 168-169. Voir la bibliographie raisonnée dans l'article: Iz naših narodnih pripovedaka, par Pavle Popović, Iz književnosti, Beograd, 1919, 53-65.

20) Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, Srpske narodne pjesme V, Beograd, 1898, 530-531; Lazar Nikolić, Junaci i junakinje u srpskim narodnim pesmama, Novi Sad, 1888, 22-25; Arhiv SANU, Etnografska zbirka, N° 27, 4-5.

21) Il s'agit de nombreuses variantes de chants épiques sans le nom "Braća i sestra". Vuk, II, N° 8; MH, I, 56-60; 60-63; N.S. Davidović, Srpske narodne pjesme iz Bosne, Pančevo, 1884, 10-15; Arhiv SANU, Etn. zbirka, N° 47-2, 9-9-107; Ibid, 53a-1, 58-62; Ibid, N° 10-1, 23-24; etc.

22) André Jolles, Einfache Formen, 2. éd. Halle 1931, 31.

23)

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22/Serbskij Ljetopis, čast treća, Budim 184o, 7o-74; Ibid., 1848, 81-84; B.Petranović, Srpske narodne pjesme, II, Beograd, 1867, 6- 6-1o; N.Šaulić, Srpske narodne pjesme, I/1, Beograd, 1929, 21-23, 23-26, etc.

23/ Vuk, II, N° 16./Car Duklijan i Krstitelj Jovan/.

24/ Vuk, II, N° 1 et 2; B.Petranović, Srpske narodne pjesme, II, N N°1; MH, I, N°5 et 7; Arhiv SANU, N° 8552/257 - XV,4; Arhiv SANU, Etnografska zbirka N° 41-1, 2o, etc.

25/ André Jolles, Einfache Formen, 2.éd., Halle 1956, 31-38.

26/ Srpski etnografski zbornik, 1913, xx, 1o7; SEZ, 1931, XLVIII, 277; Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja, Sarajevo, 1894, VI, 266; Bosanska vila 1895, X, 24; Karadžić, 1899, I, 262, etc. Voir aussi la bibliographie que donne T.Djordjević dans l'article "Kačićeva pjesmarica u Metohiji", Naš narodni život, 1934, X, 153-155.

27/ V.V.Čajkanović, O srpskom vrhovnom bogu, SKA, Posebna izdanja, CXXXII, Beograd, 1941, 1o4.

28/ C'est-à-dire les chansons sur le Jugement dernier/ v. la note 24/.

29/ Vuk, II, N° 4 ; Vuk, VI, N°1; B.Petranović, II, N°2; Ibid. I, N° 25, MH, I, N°18 et 19; N.Šaulić, I/1, p.18-21.

3o/ Vuk, V, N° 22o et 223; Vuk Vrčević, Pomanje narodne svečanosti, Pančevo 1888, p. 61-62; Istarske narodne pjesme, Istarska književna zadruga, 1924, p. 2o5-2o6 ; MH, I, N°21 et 22, etc.

31/ V. Stojan Novaković, Naša stara književnost i izvori naših narodnih umotvorina, Vila, 1868, IV, [illegible] 6o4-6o6; v. aussi J. Matl, Südslawische Studien, München , 1965, 162.

32/ Vuk, II, N°13 et 14; [illegible] Vuk, VI, 3. drž. Izd., Beograd, 194o, No 5; MH, I, N° 47; Bosanska vila, 1889, III, 11.

33/ Vuk, I, N° 2o7 /Ljuba bogatoga Gavana/; Arhiv SANU, No 8552/257, XXII, 3; Istarske narodne pjesme, Istarska književna zadruga, 1924, 218-222; MH, I, N° 31; Zbornik za narodni život i običaje Južnih slavena, 1918, XXIII, 35-37; etc.

34/ Vuk, I, N° 23o et 231; Vuk V, N°217, B. Petranović, I, N° 1 et 2; Dj. Rajković, Srpske narodne pesme , Novi Sad, 1869, NO 184; Fr. Kuhač, Južnoslovjenske narodne popievke, III, Zagreb, 188o, N° 1o59; MH, V, N°3; etc.

35/ V. la note 32.

36/ N. Šaulić, Srpske narodne priče, I/2, Beograd, 1925, N° 58; Ibid., I/3, Beograd, 1931, No 37, Archiv Instituta za proučavanje folklora, Sarajevo, No VIII-G, 4446; M.Bošković-Stulli, Narodne pripovijetke, Zagreb, 1963, 173.

37/ Vatroslav Jagić, Srpske narodne pjesme Bosne i Hercegovine, RAD JAZU, 1868, II, 223-224, 226.

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Maja Bošković-Stulli

Merkmale der kroatisch-serbischen Schwänke

Ich habe mich, etwas leichtsinnig, entschlossen im heutigen kurzen Referat die Merkmale der kroatisch-serbischen Schwänke darstellen zu versuchen.

Die Schwierigkeiten dabei sind jedoch so gross dass sich der grössere Teil des Referats erschöpfen könnte in ihrer Austragung; immerhin bin ich der Meinung dass auch das was ich vorbringe wenigstens indirekt etwas dazu beitragen können wird die erwähnten Merkmale kennen zu lernen.

Der Ausgangspunkt zur Charakterisierung der kroatisch-serbischen Schwänke sollte ihr Typenkatalog sein. Es versteht sich, dass dieser allein an und für sich die Merkmale nicht veranschaulicht, aber er bezeugt mehr oder weniger exakt die Anwesenheit einzelner Stoffe, ihre Menge, ihre regionale Verbreitung, die wechselseitigen Unterschiede in den Kontaminationsformen, in den Modifizierungen der Handlung, in den handlungstragenden Gestalten u.s.w. Leider fehlt uns in diesem Falle dieser Stütz- und Ausgangspunkt zu der weiteren feineren Charakterisierung, da der Typenkatalog der kroatisch-serbischen Volkserzählungen noch in der Phase der Bearbeitung ist.

Von den spezifischen Merkmalen der kroatisch-serbischen Schwänke zu sprechen ist sehr erschwert durch die verwickelte Zusammensetzung des Gebietes, dem diese Erzählungen zugehören. Die kroatisch-serbische (bzw. die kroatische oder die serbische) Sprache sprechen mehrere Völker: Serben, Kroaten, Montenegriner, sowie die Moslems in Bosnien und der Herzegowina und z.T. in Montenegro. Die Sprache ist - bei gewissen Unterschieden ihrer literarischen Varianten - verbreitet in vier jugoslawischen Republiken: Serbien, Kroatien, Bosnien und Herzegowina, sowie in Montenegro (während man

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in Mazedonien und Slowenien mazedonisch bzw. slowenisch spricht). Diese Sprache sprechen die Angehörigen dreier Glaubensbekenntnisse: die serbisch-orthodoxen Serben und Montenegriner, die katholischen Kroaten und die Moslems. Der Verbreitungsradius der Sprache umfasst mehrere sehr unterschiedliche volkskundliche Zonen: die alpine, die pannonische, die adriatische, die dinarische und die morawische. Die Sphären der kulturpolitischen Einflüsse waren in der Vergangenheit regional sehr verschieden verteilt: in den Gebieten der orientalische Einfluss (der türkischen Herrschaft), der balkanische, der mediterrane und der mitteleuropäische. Schliesslich - die nationalen und die Glaubens-Zugehörigkeiten stimmen zum Teil nicht zumer überein mit den Grenzen der einzelnen Republiken - - als Folge verschiedener Migrationen im Laufe der verflossenen Jahrhunderte; die ethnographischen Zonen hinwiederum decken sich nicht mit dem Verbreitungsradius der einzelnen Nationen oder ihrer Republiken, und so erstreckt sich z. B. in Kroatien zum Teil die alpine, pannonische, adriatische und dinarische ethnographischen Zone. Und wenn man, schliesslich, die eigenen Merkmale der Volkserzählungen als mündlicher Form der Kunst des Wortes in Betracht zieht - welche sich auch in viel homogeneren Mitten nicht unmittelbar und ausschliesslich mit Hilfe der Kriterien der nationalen Zugehörigkeit oder der ethnographischen Zonen erklären lassen - so wird das Problem der Charakterisierung noch schwieriger.

Doch damit sind die Schwierigkeiten nicht zu Ende. Es handelt sich um eine Gruppe von Volkserzählungen, die in den theoretischen Forschungen bis unlängst ausdrücklich vernachlässigt worden war, ja es ist nicht einmal zuverlässlich festgestellt, ob der Legende eine eigene einheitliche Gattung vorstellt und was er alles umfasst.

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Von den verschiedenartigen und nicht übereinstimmenden Zutritten zu dieser Gruppe von Erzählungen informiert zusammenfassend E.Strassner in seinem Büchlein über den Schwank[1]. Er weist auf die Auffassung hin von der Formlosigkeit des Schwanks; weiter auf das Fehlen von der Ermangelung stabiler Kriterien, die ihn bestimmen würden (nach Harkort) u.a. Für Max Lüthi ist der Schwank keine Gattung wie die übrigen Erzählgattungen, sondern "eine Möglichkeit jeder Gattung" - und so entsteht der Wirklichkeitsschwank, der Sagenschwank, der Legendenschwank, der Märchenschwank...[2]. Leopold Schmidt bemerkt, dass der Name Schwank als Gattungsbezeichnung sich erst in den dreissiger Jahren unseres Jahrhunderts durchgesetzt hat[3].

Als allgemeiner Begriff ist der Schwank eigentlich auch bis heute nich stabilisiert - wovon, neben anderen, auch Aarne-Thompsons Katalog zeugt, in welchem die schwankhaften Erzählungen fast in allen Gruppen verstreut sind.

Bausinger hält den Schwank für eine eigene Erzählgattung, aber er betrachtet ihn in enger Verbindung mit der Geschichte der deutschen Literatur und weist darauf hin dass der Schwank als Gattung sich in Deutschland im 16.Jh. mit Hans Sachs geformt hat - womit die allgemeine Bedeutung dieses Begriffes auf eine spezifische Mitte eingeengt wird.[4] Bausinger gab als erster die strukturelle Analyse des Schwanks[5]. Er stellte, wie es bekannt ist, drei Typen von Handlungsschemen dar und illustrierte sie mit adäquaten Beispielen. Es scheint mir jedoch, dass man nicht alle Erzählungen die man im breiteren Sinne üblicherweise in die Kategorie des Schwanks einreiht - und insbesondere jene mit ausgebreiteter Fabel und einer Folge von Episoden - in diese drei Formtypen einreihen könnte.

Wir versuchen nicht die Definitionen des Begriffes Schwank kritisch darlegen - wir wollen nur vorzeigen, dass der Umfang dieses Begriffes und seine strukturellen

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Merkmale, ja sogar das blosse Bestehen des Schwanks als selbständiger Gattung der mündlichen Prosa auch bis heute noch nicht klar bestimmt sind. Und dadurch ist, natürlicherweise, auch die Charakterisierung dieser Gattung in einem begrenzten regionalen Raume bedeutend erschwert.

Die jugoslawische folkloristische Literatur, besonders auch die serbische und die kroatische, widmete in der Vergangenheit ihre grösste Aufmerksamkeit der epischen Volkspoesie; weniger befasste sie sich mit der mündlichen Prosa und am wenigsten mit den theoretischen Aspekten der mündlichen Erzählungsgattungen. Für Erzählungen die mehr oder weniger dem Begriffe "Schwank" entsprechen, ist die Benennung "šaljive narodne pripovijetke" (etwa: komische Volkserzählungen, Volkserzählungen komischen Inhalts) landläufig, und daneben auch verschiedene spezifische lokale Benennungen (pričice, šale, dosjetke, pošalice, pošurice, šurke, smješice, špajsi, sklapalice, naklapalice, prkolice, gačice, gonečice, rugalice u.a.). Dieser Begriff "komische Volkserzählungen" stimmt nicht völlig überein mit allen jenen Kategorien die S. Neumann in seinem Aufsatz "Volksprosa mit komischem Inhalt" 6/ in breiter Übersicht dargestellt hat, aber er ist ihm nahe; ohne eine gemeinsame stilistische, strukturelle und thematische Grundlage zu haben, umfasst er die komischen traditionellen Volkserzählungen mit mehr oder weniger entwickelter Handlung (der Witz und das Sagwort z.B. gehören nicht in diesen Rahmen).

Die kristallisierte Gattung "Schwank" mit strengeren formellen Merkmalen ist nicht ganz zufällig der Aufmerksamkeit der kroatischen und serbischen Forscher entgangen. Die Gattung hat sich eigentlich auch objektiv nicht so gestaltet wie z.B. in Deutschland und einigen anderen europäischen Ländern. Wir haben nicht unseren Hans Sachs gehabt und ebensowenig Sammlungen von Fazetien,

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noch auch verschiedene andere ältere Sammlungen humoristischen Erzählguts - die in einigen anderen Ländern so intensiv auf die Gestaltung von "Volkserzählungen komischen Inhalts" eingewirkt haben (es ist z.B. kein Zufall dass die deutsche mündliche Dichtung so reich an Schwänken in Liedform ist - offenbar unter dem Einfluss der Sachs-Tradition - während wir, ausser einigen wenigen Ausnahmen, diese versifizierte Schwankform fast überhaupt nicht kennen[7]). Natürlich gibt es auch bei uns - insbesondere in der älteren kroatischen Literatur - Beispiele literarisch fixierter komischer Erzählungen die ansonsten auch der mündlichen Tradition bekannt sind (z.B. bei dem berühmten Komödiographen des 16. Jh. Marin Držić), aber das bleiben sporadische Fälle. Unsere alte Literatur war ernst, in bedeutendem Masse religiös - und bezeugte wenig Verständnis für volkstümliche lustige unterhaltende Sammlungen. Dies bedeutet aber nicht, dass die kroatischen und serbischen komischen Erzählungen wesentlich verschieden wären von jenen typischen europäischen Schwankthemen, welche oft auch vermittels der Volksbücher sich verbreitet haben. Jedoch bei uns wurden diese Erzählungen dominanterweise auf mündlichem Wege übertragen.

Infolge der vorher angeführten volkskundlichen, nationalen, kulturhistorischen und Religions-Verschiedenheiten im Raume der kroatisch-serbischen Sprache, nahmen auch die komischen Volkserzählungen ziemlich verschiedene regionale Merkmale an. In den Gegenden der einstmaligen türkischen Herrschaft ist typisches orientalisches Erzählen über Nasr-eddin-Hodscha heimisch, welches den anderen Gegenden (z.B. dem nördlichen und dem küstenländischen Kroatien) relativ fremd geblieben ist. Hier, wiederum, fügen sich seit dem 18. und 19.Jh. die Einflüsse der Volksbücher ein. So war im nördlichen, kajkawischen Kroatien im 19.Jh. eine freie, heimisch angepasste Kompilation des Volksbuches über Till Eulenspiegel sehr populär, der hier den Namen Petrica Kerempuh bekam (Autor der Kompilation: Jakob Lovrenčić).

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~~Anonsch interessant~~ und Charakteristisch ist der Fall der ~~kroatis~~ kroatischen Übersetzung aus dem Jahre 1771 der bekannten italienischen populären Erzählungen über Bertoldo und Bertoldino. Diese Erzählungen hat nämlich aus dem Italienischen ins Kroatische der dalmatinische Schriftsteller Nikola Palikuća übersetzt, aber der Held heisst in seiner Übersetzung nicht mehr Bertoldo, sondern - Nasredin[8]. Damit werden auf fast symbolische Weise die Unterschiede der kulturellen Sphären und gleichzeitig ihre bezeichnende ~~komis~~ Durchflechtung ersichtlich. Alle diese ~~[illegible]~~ Momente finden ihren starken Ausdruck auch in ~~den~~ mündlichen Erzählungen.

In den Gebieten, wo die Türken herrschten, sind ~~sehr beliebt~~ Erzählungen vom Türken als Herrn und dem durchtriebenen, seinem türkischen Herrn überlegenen Christen, der den gemeinschaftlichen Namen "Raja" (=christlicher Untertan der Türken), oder aber "Ero" (vorzüglich in der Herzegowina und in einem Teil Serbiens) trägt, sehr beliebt. In Montenegro ist der Typ der sog. heldischen Anekdote heimisch - der eigentlich schon aus dem Rahmen unserer heutigen Betrachtungen fällt.

Natürlicherweise gibt es, wie auch anderswo, ~~sehr~~ viele komische Erzählungen über die Pfaffen und Mönche, die, je nach den regionalen und sonstigen Verschiedenheiten, serbisch-orthodox, katholisch oder moslemisch sind - und zwar so dass manchmal der Pfaffe des eigenen Glaubensbekenntnisses dem Spott preisgegeben wird und manchmal jener der anderen Religion; die Grenzen der Verbreitung solcher Geschichten von einer Religion zu der anderen sind ziemlich beweglich.

Ich will ~~werde~~ versuchen, ~~[illegible]~~ einige regionale Verschiedenheiten innerhalb Kroatiens (meiner engeren Heimat) darzustellen. In Slawonien, diesem nördlichen kornreichen pannonischen Flachlands-Gebiet, wo man satt und üppig zu leben weiss, sind ~~[illegible]~~ gepfefferte, schlüpfrige Erzählungen ~~[illegible]~~ sehr beliebt (z.B. von dem Weibe das des Nachts drei

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Pfaffen als Liebhaber bei sich verbirgt, Aa Th 1730; von dem untreuen Weib das eine Liebschaft mit ihrem Gevatter hat und ihren Ehemann blenden will, Aa Th 1380; vom Alten Hildebrant, Aa Th 1360 C u.s.w.). Selbstverständlich sind solche Erzählungen auch anderswo bekannt, aber in diesem Milieu sind sie irgendwie zutiefst heimisch geworden; sie werden ohne Zaudern erzählt, fröhlich und saftig, nicht so sehr als Verletzung moralischer und gesellschaftlicher Tabus - wenngleich auch dieses Moment einigermassen vorhanden ist - sondern mehr als Ausdruck unmittelbarer fröhlicher Befriedigung in der Schilderung erotisch gefärbter komischer Situationen. In derselben Gegend sind bei anderen Gattungen ausführlich und eingehend erzählte Geschichten beliebt, mit entfaltenem Sinn für das Situations-Detail, und so sind auch diese Schwänke dort gestaltet.

Die Schwänke der Küstengegenden an der Adria entlang sind anders gestaltet. In ihnen dominiert scharfer Spott, besonders das Verspotten der Nachbarn. Sie sind kürzer und prägnanter. Sie tändeln gerne mit den religiösen Tabus: sie erzählen über verschiedene komische Predigten oder Beichten; über komische Gespräche mit den Heiligen und mit Jesus; über Mesner die sich in Kirchennischen anstatt der zerbrochenen Heiligenstatue stellen, oder sie werden in der Prozession getragen. Das sind übrigens allgemein beliebte mediterrane Themen. Diese Mitte ist katholisch, in religiöser Hinsicht ziemlich konservativ, aber sie ist gleichzeitig auch liberal gesinnt und der weiten Welt geöffnet (was so typisch für das Küstenmilieu ist)und sie verfügt über einen scharfen spöttischen Geist. Im Konflikt dieser entgegengesetzter Eigenschaften entstehen Schwänke auf die man in Ganzheit Bausingers Charakterisierung des Schwankes anwenden kann, wonach in den Schwänken verschiedene Normbereiche zusammenstossen, die kirchliche und ausserkirchliche Auffassung, und wobei der feierliche Ton durch Einführung der banalen Alltäglichkeit in das Pathos des

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Sakralen durchgebrochen wird.[9/] Es ist bezeichnend dass solche Erzählungen oft auch von Personen vorgebracht werden die keineswegs unreligiös sind (mir hat eine solche Schwank, von einer Alten die in der Kirche zuviel zu Gott betete, sogar eine Nonne in Dubrovnik erzählt).

Regionale Kennzeichen der Schwänke aus einem Gebiet das ebenfalls zu Dalmatien gehört, aber nicht zu seinem Küstenbereich, sondern seinem gebirgigen Hinterland, das Dalmatinska Zagora benannt ist, werden zwei Beispiele illustrieren. Das Dalmatinische Hinterland schliesst sich, zufolge mehrerer Merkmale, der dinarischen Zone mit ihrer patriarchalischen Viezuchtkultur an. In einer Erzählung aus dieser Gegend zanken sich miteinander Weib und Mann beim Weihnachts--Mittagstisch darüber, ob auf dem Dachbalken ein Mäuserich oder eine Mäusin vorübergelaufen sei. Drei Jahre hindurch wiederholt sich zu Weihnachten dieselbe Szene: der Mann haut jedesmal dem Weib mit dem Löffel an den Kopf, sie läuft davon und bleibt ohne Mittagessen - bis sie im vierten Jahr endlich zur Vernunft kommt und dem Manne nachgibt (vergl.: Aa Th 1365 G*). Mit scharfer Malice wird da das Weib persifliert - das nur deshalb für bösartig erklärt wird weil sie dem Manne zu widersprechen versuchte; aus der Erzählung wird zugleich ersichtlich wieviel diesen Leuten nach dem langen Hungerjahr ein sattes Weihnachts-Mittagessen bedeutete. In den Fassungen aus den nördlichen Flachlands-Gebieten ist diese Erzählung völlig anders intoniert - mit der Pointe nach dem Ausspruche "der Klügere gibt nach".

In einer anderen Erzählung aus derselben Gegend, mit dem Thema "Wer sich zuerst erzürnt" (Aa Th 1000 u.a.), dient der jüngste Bruder beim orthodoxen Pfaffen und kann diesen nicht erzürnen auch nach einer Reihe seiner Unfugstaten, und selbst dann nicht als er den Tod der Mutter und der Frau des Pfaffen verschuldet. Es gelingt ihm

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erst dann den Pfaffen aus der Ruhe zu bringen als er zum Mittagstisch dessen Hund kocht und damit des Pfaffen Gäste vertreibt, und das kann der Pfaffe nicht mehr verwinden und er erzürnt sich arg - deshalb weil der Bursche ihm "seine Freunde abgewendet hat". Eine solche seltsame Pointe ist keinesfalls nur eine zufällig verdorbene Form, sondern sie drückt die Mentalität der dinarischen Viehzüchter aus, denen die Gastfreundschaft traditionsgemäss das grösste Heiligtum bedeutet[10].

Dieselben Küstenhinterlands-Gebirgler, die der Natur nach helle Köpfe, anstellig und einfallsreich sind, verspotten in ihren ~~Geschichten~~ Erzählungen gerne die benachbarte Küstenbevölkerung. Sie schildern sie in ihren Späßen als einfältig gutmütige Menschen und rächen sich ihnen damit für deren entwickeltere Kultur und höheren Lebensstandard, sowie für jene ihnen fremde zahmere Küstenmentalität. Und die Leute vom Meeresufer zahlen ihnen das natürlicherweise heim - indem sie die Zurückgebliebenheit und Unwissenheit der Gebirgler aufs Korn nehmen.

In einer Spott~~geschichte~~erzählung heisst es, dass ein Gebirgler einst spät nachts bei grosser Kälte in das Haus eines Mannes an der Küste kommt. Der Mann war aber zum Fischfang aufs Meer ausgefahren und die Frau ~~nimmt~~ nahm aus ~~Bedauern~~ Mitleid den durchfrorenen Wanderer zu sich ins Bett um ihn zu erwärmen. Am anderen Morgen ertappt sie der Fischer so, packt ergrimmt den Gebirgler und, um ihn zu strafen - trägt er ihn huckepack zwei Stunden lang fast vor dessen Haus im Gebirgsdorf [11].

Dieser Schwank ist eine ~~der~~ typische lokale Spott~~geschichten~~erzählung, trefflich in das Lokalmilieu placiert, mit genau angeführten Ortsnamen und mit Details aus dem dortigen Leben (der Küstenbewohner befasst sich mit Fischfang, der Gebirgler aus dem abgeschiedenen Dorfe muss zur Erledigung jeder seiner Angelegenheit weite Fusstouren zurücklegen (u.a.); aber dieser Schwank ist auch noch etwas mehr: es ist als sei er ein kaum wiederzuerkennendes Echo eines populären alten

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europäischen Schwanks uber einen geizigen Ehemann, der bis jetzt - nach den Forschungen L.Röhrichs - nur in Liedform registriert wurde unter dem Titel "Das Almosen" [12]. Dieses Beispiel zeugt wiederum von den verwickelten und schwer entwirrbaren Beziehungen der internationalen und der einheimischen Erzählitradition und von den Wegen und Art ihrer Entwicklung.

Ich schliesse meine Ausführungen mit dem Beispiel eines zeitgenössischen Schwankes, der örtlich an die dalmatinische Insel Brač gebunden ist und zeitlich an die Tage gleich nach dem II. Weltkrieg. Zu dieser Zeit herrschte auf den Inseln grosse Not und Brač war auch früher schon eine arme Insel gewesen von welcher zahlreiche Leute nach Amerika auswanderten. Den armen Angehörigen wurden zu dieser Zeit von den Auswanderern aus Amerika Pakete mit Kleidung und Nahrungsmitteln gesandt. In einem angekommenen Paket befand sich eine Schachtel die einen Staub enthielt, welchen die Empfänger, in der Meinung dass es Mehl sei, zu einem Kuchen verarbeiteten, welchen sie dann auch aufassen. Aber am selben Tag kam ein Brief aus Amerika mit der Nachricht, dass die Tante Mandina gestorben sei und dass in jener Schachtel ihre Asche gesandt wurde, um in heimischer Erde beigesetzt zu werden. Es ensteht eine allgemeine Bestürzung, die mit einem schildbürgehaft weisen Entschluss endet: dass alle jene die von dem Kuchen gegessen haben, an einem gemeinsamen Ort Not verrichten sollen - worauf dieser Kot dann feierlich begraben wurde.

Dieser Schwank ist auf uns zeitgenössischen Requisiten aufgebaut und klingt im allgemeinen ziemlich modern. Er widerspiegelt jene so spezifischen Beziehungen der amerikanischen Auswanderer mit der Verwandtschaft in der Heimat. Gleichzeitig ist dieser Schwank eine natürliche Fortsetzung des traditionellen Schwankgutes der dalmatinischen Region. Da ist vorhanden jener scharfe und unbarmherzige Spott, gleicherweise

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auf die eigene Armut und Unwissenheit gerichtet, wie auch auf die lächerlichen vermögenden Auswanderer, die nichts Gescheiteres zu tun haben als die Asche der Tante im Paket heimzuschicken. Da ist auch jenes schwankhafte Tändeln mit sakralen Dingen, die Überwindung des makabren Moments mittels Komik und schliesslich jenes dem Schwank so beliebte Aufbauen der Komik auf einem skatologischen Thema. Aber die Komik liegt nicht nur in diesem Thema an sich, wie das gewöhnlich im klassischen Schwank geschieht, sondern hier wird dadurch - d.h. durch jene feierliche Beisetzung des Kotes - die Verspottung der beiden entgegengesetzten Welten dieser Erzählung verschärft pointiert.

Diese treffliche und geistreiche Erzählung verbindet die traditionellen Merkmale des Schwanks mit einem veränderten moderneren Geist--wodurch die Möglichkeit des Bestehens zeitgenössischer Schwankformen geschaffen wird. Das ist eine typisch dalmatinische schwankhafte Erzählung, mit allen Fasern an sein heimisches Milieu gebunden - was aber nicht besagen will, dass dieser Stoff in anderer Form nicht auch anderswo bestehen kann.[13/]

Indem ich mit dieser kurzen Ausführung versucht habe die Merkmale der kroatisch-serbischen Schwänke zu skizzieren (u.zw. grösstenteils an kroatischen Beispielen - die ich näher kenne), wollte ich keine sonderartigen Stoffe wählen. Mein Ziel war, einige Stoffe aus dem internationalen Repertoire darzulegen, die in diesen Gegenden beliebt und heimisch geworden sind, und gleichzeitig die Verschiedenheiten zwischen den einzelnen Regionen aufzuzeigen. Schliesslich wollte ich hervorheben, dass die spezifischen Merkmale der Schwänke nicht so sehr, oder nicht nur in der Wahl der Stoffe liegen, sondern auch in ihrer Belichtung, im Kolorit, in den Gestalten, der konkreten Zeit und Raum in ihnen, in den Realien aus der heimischen Mitte - in dem komplexen Ausdruck der Mentalität.

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, Metzler,

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Anmerkungen

1) Erich Strassner, Schwank, Stuttgart 1968, S.9.

2) Max Lüthi, Märchen, 3. Aufl., Metzler, Stuttgart 1968, S. 13.

3) Leopold Schmidt, Die Volkserzählung, Berlin 1963, S.299.

4) Hermann Bausinger, Formen der "Volkspoesie", Berlin 1968, S.146.

5) Hermann Bausinger, Bemerkungen zum Schwank und seinen Formtypen. Fabula, Berlin, Bd.9, 1967, H.1-3, S.118-136.

6) Siegfried Neumann, Volksprosa mit komischem Inhalt. Fabula, 9, 1967, 1-3, S.137-148.

7) Über die deutschen Schwankballaden vgl. die Auslegungen von Rolf Wilhelm Brednich im Tagungsprotokoll der "2.Arbeitstagung über Fragen des Typenindex der europäischen Volksballaden - vom 1o. bis 12.April 1969. im Universitätshaus von Cikháj bei Brno/ČSSR". Veranstaltet von der Kommission für Volksdichtung der SIEF. Tagungsprotokoll zusammengestellt von R.W.Brednich, Herausgeber: Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung, Berlin 1969, S.35-54.

8) vgl. Josip Pasarić, Hrvatska narodna šala, Zagreb 1923, S.XXIV-XXVI.

9) Bausinger, Formen..., S.15o.

1o) Die zwei letzten Beispiele nach meiner Abhandlung und Textsammlung "Narodne pripovijetke i predaje Sinjske krajine" (Volksmärchen und Sagen aus der Sinjer Krajina") in: Narodna umjetnost, Zagreb, Bd.5-6, 1967-68, S.3o3-432.

11) Zbornik za narodni život i običaje južnih Slavena, Zagreb, X, 19o5, S.214-215.

12) Lutz Röhrich, Erzählungen des späten Mittelalters und ihr Weiterleben in Literatur und Volksdichtung bis zur Gegenwart, Bd.II, Bern 1967, S. 291-3o6 u. 474-486. - Nach der freundlichen mündlichen Mitteilung L. Röhrichs gibt es heutigentags in Deutschland Witze vom Bettler und der mitleidigen Ehefrau, welche unserem kroatischen Schwank aus Dalmatien näher stehen als der verwandten alten Schwankballade, indem sie in Prosa

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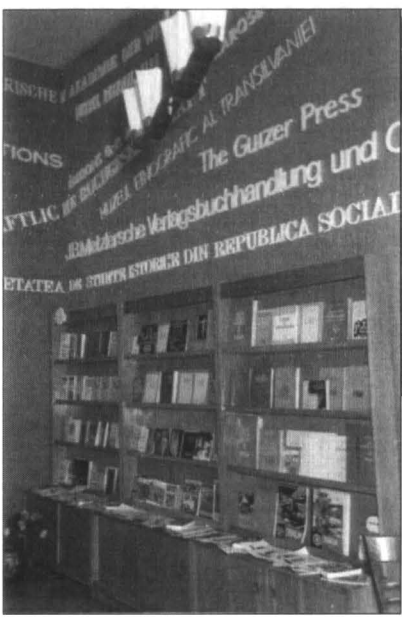
erzählt werden und das Motiv vom Geiz des Ehemanns nicht enthalten.

13) Tatsächlich ist diese Erzählung auch anderswo verbreitet. Nach der Mitteilung von Prof. Max Lüthi wird sie in der Schweiz erzählt, und nach den Mitteilungen von Dr. Dagmar Klimová und Eva Vrabcová ebenfalls auch in der Tschechoslowakei, jedenfalls in allen erwähnten Fällen nur der erste Teil unserer Erzählung, der mit der Entdeckung des makabren verspeisten Inhaltes des Pakets endet. Dadurch wird natürlich der innere Sinn und die Pointe der ganzen Erzählung ziemlich andersartig gestaltet als in unserem dalmatinischen Schwank.



25 & 26: National & international publishers' book exhibition; in the far right: Ligia Bîrgu-Georgescu's profile (FL 1913/5/44378, 1913/4/44380)

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Die Reproduktion als Prinzip der Volksüberlieferung.

Oldřich Sirovátka, Brno/ČSSR/

Man kann kaum mit bloßem Beharrungsvermögen der Volksüberlieferung jenes Paradoxon erklären, daß ein und dieselben Märchen, Sagen, Legenden oder Schwänke jahrelang beinahe dem gleichen Publikum erzählt wurden, und dennoch jedesmal aufs neue das Interesse fesselten und die Neugier befriedigen konnten. Insbesondere führte die monographische Erforschung der natürlichen Erzählgemeinschaften - wie der Familie oder des Dorfes - zu der Überzeugung, daß ihr Erzählrepertoire festgelegt und nicht groß ist; Neuschöpfungen werden in diesem gefestigten Grundbestand nur selten heimisch. ~~Eine größere Anzahl~~ [einige Dutzend] an Märchen kehrte Monat für Monat, Jahr für Jahr immer von neuem wieder; auch der Umkreis der Sagen blieb auf örtliche Ereignisse und bemerkenswerte Lokalitäten beschränkt; gleicherweise blieb die Galerie der dämonenhaften Wesen im Grunde in sich geschlossen und unverändert und, schließlich und endlich, auch die Anzahl der Situationen und Konflikte, die mit ihnen verbunden sind. Dies gilt allerdings nicht nur für die Volkserzählung: die gleichen Theateraufführungen und Schauspiele - [Weihnachts-, Oster-, Fastnachtsspiele u.a. -] wurden immer zur gleichen Zeit des Jahresablaufs vorgeführt, sie waren den Zuschauern in jeder ihrer Handlungen und Lösungen längst bekannt und fanden dennoch jedesmal bei ihnen Anklang. Aber auch aus höherer Perspektive erregt die Tatsache Aufmerksamkeit, daß aus sämtlichen, jahrhundertelang bei vielen ~~xxxx~~ Völkerschaften Europas und der Welt lebenden Märchen kaum einige hundert Handlungsschablonen abzuleiten sind; dennoch war sozusagen jener relativ ärmliche Fundus ein nicht versiegender Quell einer langlebigen und verzweigten internationalen Tradition.

Worin besteht nun für die Zuhörer die Anziehungskraft der vertrauten Erzählungen, was entdecken sie hierin/beim fünften, zehnten und hundertsten Male ~~xxxxx~~? Welches sind die Gründe dafür, daß der Erzähler im entsprechenden Milieu ein Märchen "allenfalls auch jedes Jahr wiederholen kann und es immer gerne erzählt", wie von einem Forscher konstatiert worden ist? Gewiss ist es nicht wegen des Stoffes ~~xxxxx~~ schlechthin: die Zuhörer kannten doch Handlung und Gestalten, Konflikte wie auch die Pointe bis in kleinste Wendungen und Details, so daß sie selbst eigentlich mit dem Erzähler gemeinsam erzählen konnten, und, wie wir ~~aus~~ von dem lebendigen Vortrag im natürlichen Milieu wissen, ihn sogar korrigier-

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ten oder ergänzten. Wenn wir das Leben der Volkserzählung beobachten und jenes Paradoxon bedenken, das zwischen dem Stoffe Konservativismus und Abgeschlossenheit einerseits und der sich über lange Zeitläufte erstreckenden Attraktivität andrerseits besteht, stoßen wir notwendigerweise auf die Bedeutung der erzählerischen Konkretisierung, auf die Rolle der Reproduktion.

Die erzählerische Reproduktion verlieh offenbar bekanntem Stoff oder bekannten Motiven eine Eigenschaft, durch die Altes zu Neuem umgewandelt wird, Traditionelles zu Aktuellem; für die Zuhörer war nicht nur das Was fesselnd, sondern auch das Wie. Es ist gleichfalls offenkündig, daß diese Reproduktion nicht identifiziert werden kann mit dem bloßen passiven Märchenvortrag, der eine fertige literarische Tatsache darbietet und vergegenwärtigt. Es geht um ein dynamisches Prinzip, das (1) an sich einen positiven Wert für den Zuhörer wie auch für den Erzähler in der sprachlichen Kunst und dem mimischen Vortrag; (2) wird durch seine Vermittlung der jeweilige Stoff umgeformt und ausgeprägt; (3) wird dadurch beigetragen zur Stabilisierung vor allem des Aufbaus wie auch der stilistischen Struktur der Erzählung.

Jedem Volkskundler ist aus seiner Praxis im Terrain bekannt, wie die Volksgemeinschaft selbst die Kunst der Reproduktion einschätzt, wie man den Wert hervorragender Erzähler oder Sänger anerkennt, sich noch lange nach ihrem Tod an sie erinnert: "Das war ein Erzähler, dem kam keiner gleich!" – "Ach, war das ein Sänger!" – Der Sammler František B a r t o š erbrachte aus Mähren ein kurioses Zeugnis dafür, welche faszinierende Macht die Kunst des Vortrags hat: Einmal machten sich die jungen Burschen aus dem Dorf Hrubá Vrbka auf den Weg zur Musik in das Nachbardorf. Wie es fast die Regel zu sein pflegte, sah es bald nach einer Schlägerei aus; die jungen Burschen des Dorfes umzingelten die anderen, und schon drohte die Rauferei auszubrechen. Unter den Auswärtigen war auch der junge Jan Tomeš, der als "großer Sänger" in der ganzen Umgebung bekannt war. Geistesgegenwärtig stellte er sich plötzlich vor die Musikanten, stimmte ein Lied an, und allmählich gesellten sich immer mehr und mehr zu ihm, bis das ganze Wirtshaus sang und tanzte. Dann kamen die Gegner zu ihm, reichten ihm ein eingeschenktes Glas und würdigten ihn: "Ach, Kamerad, Bruder, du kannst aber singen! Sing uns doch noch einige Lieder vor." Tomeš sang, und die einheimischen jungen Bur-

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schen bewirteten ihn mit Getränken bis in den frühen Morgen.

Die Volksüberlieferung bildet keine tote Oberfläche, wie das bei Betrachtung ihres engen und konstanten Erzählrepertoires den Anschein hat: durch neue Erzählkonkretisierungen verwirklichen sich in ihr Spannung und Erregung. Das Lebensprinzip der Volkstradition beruht auf der dialektischen Beziehung der überlieferten Schemata, inhaltlicher oder formeller, wie auch auf ihrer unmittelbaren Reproduktion. Wenn wir für das Wesen der folkloristischen Tradition Analogien aus der sog. Hohen Kunst anführen wollten, würden wir voraussichtlich auf das Theater verweisen: ein dramatisches Stück wird da durch ständig neue Inszenierungen jedesmal um neue Werte und Dimensionen bereichert; die Auslegung wie die Bearbeitung durch den Regisseur, die schauspielerische Verkörperung der Gestalten, auch die szenische Auffassung beleuchten die dramatische literarische Vorlage des Autors jeweils aus anderer Sicht und verleihen dem Stück jedesmal gewissermaßen neue Züge. Wenn wir jedoch eine solche Analogie verwenden, setzen wir keinesfalls beide Erscheinungen gleich: das Reproduktionsprinzip wirkt sich in der Volkstradition breiter und nachhaltiger aus, und daran hat nicht nur der Erzähler, sondern auch das gesamte Publikum aktiv teil.

Dies bedeutet, daß die Reproduktion als bedeutsamer schöpferischer Faktor zur Geltung kommt. Insbesondere die Volksliedforschung betonte schon seit langem, daß Produktion und Reproduktion im Volkssingen sich einander derartig annähern, daß sie eigentlich ineinander übergehen. "Beim Wiederholen des Liedes wird vom Sänger das Lied eigentlich jedesmal neu hervorgebracht", schrieb B. V á c l a v e k. Der Sänger verhält sich dem Lied gegenüber autoritativ: unwillkürlich oder vorsätzlich trägt er kleinere oder größere Änderungen hinein, und mit jeder neuen Reproduktion formt er es um. Das gleiche kann von der Volkserzählung gesagt werden: jeder neue Märchen- oder Sagenvortrag enthält potentielle Änderungsmöglichkeiten. ~~Die Variabilität der Volksmärchen~~ Ob es nun um Abweichungen auf epischer Linie geht, um Umwandlungen der Gestalten oder Kulissenänderungen, um Aktualisierung oder sonstige innere Konzeptionen der Geschichte; die Variabilität der Volksmärchen ist eigentlich eine Begleiterscheinung und das Resultat vieler Reproduktionen einzelner konkreter Vorträge. Wenn von vielen Volkskundlern die Variabilität, d.h. das Leben der Märchen-, Sagen- oder Liedtypen in zahllosen Mutationen, als die hauptsächliche und eigentliche Distinktion der Folklore gegenüber der geschriebenen Literatur

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angesehen wird, dann ist es notwendig, aus dieser Ansicht eine weitere Konsequenz abzuleiten und anzuerkennen, daß dieses Charakteristikum auf der außerordentlichen Bedeutung der Reproduktion in der Volksüberlieferung beruht. Die Reproduktion wirkt wie ein dynamischer Gegensatz zu jener Erstarrung und quantitativen Abgrenzung von Stoffen und Motiven, wie sie für die Volksüberlieferung bezeichnend ist: die Reproduktion verleiht dem beschränkten Fundus stereotyper Stoffe immer neue Schattierungen und Bedeutungen, sie bildet sie um, und aktualisiert sie und erfüllt sie mit jener Attraktivität, um derentwillen die Zuhörer alter und anscheinend bekannter Erzählungen immer wieder bereit sind, ihnen gefesselt zuzuhören.

Jedoch auch ihre stabilisierende und geradezu aufbauende Funktion ist Ausdruck schöpferischer Reproduktion. Auf den ersten Blick scheint Volksprosa eine freie und improvisierte Form zu sein, die dem Erzähler weniger Stützen bietet und seinem spontanen Ausdruck geringere Grenzen setzt, als dies für die kanonisierte und starre Struktur des Liedes zutrifft. "Die Versform bedeutet stets eine Steigerung der Gesamthaltung gegenüber der Prosa", formulierte diesen Unterschied W.A. B e r e n d s o h n. Jedoch wird die Reproduktion, vor allem die wiederholte Reproduktion der gleichen Komposition, wenn sie von ein und demselben Erzähler dargeboten wird, zum Gegengewicht jener Improvisationsfreiheit. Der Erzähler verfestigt durch den wiederholten Vortrag eines Märchens oder einer Sage im Gedächtnis die epische Struktur, er gewinnt sichere Kenntnis von den Höhepunkten, markanten wie unwesentlichen Stellen der Geschichte, von der Kontur der Gestalten; in seiner Darbietung petrifiziert er ~~(und behält sie bei)~~ auch zutreffende sprachliche Formulierungen. Nachdem der Erzähler den Vortrag des gleichen Märchens schon oft wiederholt hat, weiß er gleich von allem Anfang an genau, wie sich die Handlung weiterentwickelt und kann bereits in der Exposition das Motiv sinnvoll vorbereiten, das er dann viel später an bedeutungsvoller Stelle verwendet. ~~Wie im Volksbrauchtum die Malerin das gleiche Ornament im Lauf der Jahre mit immer sichereren Strichen und souveränerer Hand zeichnet, so verleiht auch der Erzähler bei wiederholter Reproduktion seinem Märchen einen besser durchdachten Aufbau und eine vollkommenere sprachliche Gestalt.~~

Literarwissenschaftliche Traditionen und Gewohnheiten verleiten allerdings den Volkskundler vielfach dazu, Märchen, Sagen, Legenden

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oder Schwänke auf ein selbständiges literarisches und sprachliches Gefüge zu beschränken, wobei er den erzählerischen Vortrag entweder völlig übersieht oder bloß als ein Phänomen betrachtet, das der literarischen Schöpfung untergeordnet ist, und ihr also zu ihrer Materialisation passiv als Werkzeug dient. Aber nur in Büchern, Zeitschriften oder Archiven finden wir Erzählungen vor ohne konkrete Erzähler und ohne Zuhörer, also gleichsam eine entblößte Literatur "an sich". In der lebendigen Volksüberlieferung ist ein Märchen- oder Sagentext untrennbar verbunden mit der Reproduktion, oder genauer ausgedrückt: Text und Reproduktion durch den Erzähler bilden ein einziges organisches Ganzes. "Ein wirkliches Märchen", schreibt der Schriftsteller Karel Čapek, "entsteht aus dem Bedürfnis zu erzählen und aus der Lust zuzuhören.". Die Volksprosa besteht nur als erzählte Prosa, oder es gibt sie überhaupt nicht. Reproduktion ist Bedingung und einzige authentische Form der Existenz der Volkskunst.

Falls es gelang zu klären, daß dem Stoff der Volkserzählung Leben, Sinn und neue Dimensionen erst durch die Reproduktion verliehen werden, und wenn wir die Volkserzählung als das dynamische Zusammentreffen traditioneller Stoffe und deren Reproduktion begreifen, dann werden auch einige weitere Probleme in anderem Licht erscheinen. Dies betrifft insbesondere das Verhältnis von Literatur und mündlicher Überlieferung. Aus der literarhistorischen Ermittlung literarischer Quellen von Volkserzählungen ergibt sich nicht als unmittelbare Schlußfolgerung, daß jene Volksüberlieferung sich als ein grauer und verzerrter Schatten erweist, als eine minderwertige Imitation des literarischen Originals, und ein Symptom ist für kultureller Passivität und Nachhinken des Volksmilieus, wie dies manche Theorien formulieren. Wenn wir die Ansicht akzeptieren, daß der Stoff an sich in der Volkstradition keinerlei ausschließliche, außerordentliche Stellung einnimmt und daß die Reproduktion einen positiven Wert und ein schöpferisches Prinzip darstellt, dann verliert das Kriterium der Originalität viel an Gewicht, und die Aufmerksamkeit verlagert sich auf die Erzählrealisierung übernommener literarischer Vorlagen. Dies bedeutet, daß das Forschen nach literarischen Quellen mündlicher Prosa für den Volkskundler bloß einen Ausgangspunkt darstellt bei der Analyse des komplizierten Prozesses, jedoch nicht eine vollständige Interpretation und auch nicht das letzte Ziel.

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Aufgrund der bisherigen Überlegungen gelangen wir zu der These, daß Reproduktion in der Volkspoesie nicht als reines Mittel zur Sichtbarmachung [Verdeutlichung] eines fertigen literarischen Faktums zur Geltung kommt, sondern als selbständiger Wert und Initiativfaktor, der das Leben der Volkspoesie bedingt und sie miterschafft. Die Kunst der Reproduktion ist zum Großteil und vielleicht überwiegend das Wesen der Volksüberlieferung, sodaß wir eigentlich den bekannten Ausspruch von H o f f m a n n - K r a y e r akzeptieren können, daß"das Volk nicht erschafft, sondern bloß reproduziert", jedoch ohne jenen pejorativen Sinn, der ihm von diesem Autor gegeben wurde. Diese Auffassungsweise würde auch gestatten, in der Reproduktion eines der aufschlußreichsten und allgemein gültigen Gesetze der Volksdichtung zu sehen. Nicht jedoch im Sinne Axel O l r i ks, in dessen Interpretation sie verstanden wird als "Stilgesetze","konstruktive Regeln", "Kompositionsregeln", also als eine Art Mechanismus der literarischen Struktur einer folkloristischen Komposition. Eine derartige Auslegung scheint einseitig zu sein, wenn wir die mündliche Überlieferung nicht als Sein sondern als Werden auffassen, nicht als eine definitive und abgeschlossene literarische Gegebenheit, sondern als Reproduktionsprozess und Leistung, somit also Märchen oder Sage als "Erzählen", das Lied als "Singen", das Theater als aktives "Spielen" und als Schaustück. Von diesem Aspekt her scheinen eher der Standpunkt und die Anregungen von Meltke M o e und Walter A. B e r e n d s o h n brauchbar zu sein: diese suchten neben äußeren Stilregeln herrschende Gesetzmäßigkeiten mündlicher Überlieferung auch in allgemeinpsychologischen, individualpsychologischen und historischen Faktoren, gegenüber den "Stil"-Gesetzen legten sie auch "Lebens"-Gesetze fest und betonten, "daß eine Reihe von Stilgesetzen bestimmt werde durch das Leben in mündlicher Überlieferung". Unter die epischen Gesetze der Volksdichtung, die im Lebensprozess der mündlichen Überlieferung verankert sind, gehört gerade auch das Prinzip der Reproduktion.

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EINIGE ASPEKTE DER "LOCI COMUNES" IN DEN RUMÄNISCHEN SAGEN UND LEGENDEN.

Tony Brill-Bukarest.

Die "loci comunes",die im allgemeinen die Folklore charakterisierenden Wandermotive,stellen einen wichtigen Zug innerhalb der rumänischen Sagen und Legenden dar.

Reidar Th.Cristiansen,der die Frage auf einer breiteren Ebene in seinem Werk untersuchte,wies darauf hin,dass nicht nur Sagen- und Legendenmotive von einem Volk zum andern wandern,sondern selbst vollständige,fest umrissene Sagen und Legenden.Er hat auch einen Katalog derselben aufgestellt [1] und bei dieser Gelegenheit auf das international gemeinsame volkskulturelle Substrat hingewiesen.

Desgleichen wurde das Problem der Wandermotive auch von H.Gunter in seinem Buch über die Legenden [2] erforscht.Der Verfasser kommt dabei zum Schluss,dass bloss einige,wenig zahlreiche Grundgedanken den Legenden sämtlicher Völker zu Grunde liegen.Manchmal erreichen einige dieser Motive eine derartige charakteristische ,ins Auge fallende Form,dass sie sich auch ausserhalb ihres Ursprungslandes verbreiten und so durch die Welt ziehen [3]. Ein besonderes Kapitel von H.Gunters Arbeit bespricht eben dieses Problem der "loci comunes",einige der von ihm genannten können auch im rumänischen Legendenmaterial angetroffen werden [4].

Die von uns ausschliesslich auf Grund des rumänischen Sagen- und Legendenmaterials angestelltem Untersuchungen haben zu einer umfassenden Kenntnis des Phänomens nicht nur innerhalb sämtlicher Sagen-und Legendenkategorien geführt,sondern auch in den Wechselbindungen zwischen diesen. Unsere diesbezüglichen Schlussfolgerungen sind folgende:

A.Einige "loci comunes"sind bloss einer einzelnen Sagen- oder Legendenkategorie eigen,sie zirkulieren ausschliesslich innerhalb derselben.

1.Die ätiologischen Sagen und Legenden sind verhältnismässig arm an Wandermotiven.Diese treten erst in gewissen Fällen auf ,wie:

a.Unter ähnlichen Umständen.

Ein in mehreren ätiologischen Sagen anzutreffender Gemeinplatz ist

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die Herkunftserklärung der "Fusssohlenhöhlung."

Die Sage über die Entstehung des ersten Teufels, erzählt, dass der von Gott bevorzugte Engel Luzifer sich gegen den Herrn auflehnte, und als Strafe in einen Teufel verwandelt und in den Höllenabgrund geworfen wurde. Aus dem Himmel hatte er jedoch zwei kostbare Gegenstände mitgenommen. Ein Heiliger wurde ausgesandt diese zurückzuholen, was ihm auch gelang. Vom Teufel verfolgt, wurde der zurückeilende Heilige eben in dem Augenblick eingeholt, als er im Begriff war in den Himmel einzusteigen. Blos am Fuss konnte der Teufel ihn noch fassen, wobei es ihm gelang ein Fleischstück herauszureissen, während ihm der Heilige entkam. Gott hat sodann beschlossen, alle Menschen mögen von nun an diese anatomische Eigenheit erhalten (5).

In anderen Typen erscheint das Motiv von der Fusssohlenhöhlung in ganz verschiedenen Zusammenhängen, jedoch auch nur im Falle des Auftretens derselben Verfolgungsepisode, die das Motiv von der Fusssohlenhöhlung nach sich zieht (6).

Stammvater Adam schloss einen Vertrag mit dem Teufel, laut welchem die Menschheit letzterem zufiele. Der hl. Petrus wurde ausgesandt beim Teufel Dienste zu leisten und dabei die Vertragsurkunde zu stehlen, was ihm auch, nach zahlreichen Zwischenfällen gelang. Vom Teufel verfolgt, ereilt ihn dasselbe wie in der vorher widergegebenen Sage.

b. In manchen Fällen kann dieses Wandermotiv auch innerhalb von Typen auftreten, in denen keine ähnlichen Umstände - wie weiter oben beschrieben - vorhanden sind.

Ein Mensch wollte die Zollstellen auf der Anderen Welt zählen. Auf seiner Reise dahin, wurde er von der "Scorpia" - ein drachenähnliches Ungetüm der rumänischen Volksmythologie - begleitet, die jedoch als Entgelt an jeder Zollstelle ein Geldstück erhalten musste. Da der Mensch bloss 43 Geldstücke bei sich hatte, und es 44 Zollstellen waren, schnitt er sich, um die "Scorpia" zu begnügen, ein Stück aus der Fusssohle aus usw. (7).

Was diesen Typen gemein ist, ist die dramatische Aufmachung der Situationen, die sich in allen Fällen steigern, und einer Lösung entgegenstreben. Und eben dies führt zur Verwendung desselben Wandermotivs über diese ana-

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tomische Eigenheit des Menschen,bzw.des Motivs vom "Herausreissen eines Stückes aus der Fusssohle."

2.In den mythologischen Sagen ist das Phänomen unbedeutend.Dies wahrscheinlich deshalb,weil die Sagen dieser Kategorie einigermassen fix sind und den traditionellen Charakter strenger beibehalten.

3.In den Legenden treffen wir oftmals "loci comunes" an.Ihre kompositionelle Funktion unterscheidet sich manchmal von der der weiter oben mitgeteilten Beispiele.

a.Einige Wandermotive beziehen sich hauptsächlich auf gewisse Eigenschaften der Personen,die versuchen eine bestimmte Eigenart zu untermalen, die jedoch durch eine ihnen aussenliegende Handlung demonstriert wird.

Das Motiv von der"schwebenden Ampel",ein Gemeinplatz der den Heiligenlegenden eigen ist,bezeugt die Heiligkeit der Personen durch das nach ihrem Tode geschehene Wunder.

Der hl.Demetrius,der ein Hirte war,zertrat eines Tages versehentlich einen Vogel.Um sich zu strafen,ging der Heilige drei Jahre lang barfuss umher,bis er erfror und starb.Sein Leichnam wurde dank einer über ihn schwebenden brennenden Ampel entdeckt.Wohin immer auch des Heiligen Leichnam gebracht wurde,blieb die Ampel über ihn schweben(8).

Die hl.Philophteia,die von ihrem Vater getötet wurde,weil sie an die Armen Nahrung verteilte,wurde in gleicher Weise entdeckt(9).

Der hl.Gregorius,der bei einem Türken als Hirte verdingt war,wurde von den anderen Hirten feindselig behandelt und verfolgt,aus welchem Grunde er keinerlei Nahrung mehr zu sich nahm.Seiner körperlichen Schwäche wegen fiel er in ein Gewässer und ertrank.Sein Leichnam wurde desgleichen dank einer über ihn schwebenden brennenden Ampel entdeckt(10).

b.Andere in den Legenden vorkommenden "loci comunes" unterstreichen auch bestimmte Eigenschaften der Personen,jedoch durch von ihnen selbst ausgeführten Handlungen.

Das Motiv vom "ausstechen eines Auges",eine Strafe und Busse die sich ein Heiliger für eine vermeintliche Sünde selbst erteilt,trifft man sowohl in Typ 1417o wie auch in den Typen 14388 A und B an.

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4.Die historischen Sagen haben die meisten "loci comunes".

a.Einige für diese Kategorie repräsentativen Wandermotive, unterstreichen ähnliche Situationen.

Das Motiv vom "geschmelztem Gold", das dem Verräter in den Schlund geschüttet wird, treffen wir in drei verschiedenen geschichtlichen Sagen an. Hier unterstreicht dieser Gemeinplatz die Identität der Hauptgeschehnisse durch die gleiche Strafverteilung für ein gleiches Vergehen: Verrat.

Stefan der Grosse, einer der hervorragensten Herrscher aus der rumänischen Geschichte, sandte einen seiner Heeresführer aus, dem ungarischen Heer zu begegnen. Einem Bojaren, der Stefan feind und mit den Ungarn vertragseins war, gelang es, den Heeresführer gegen Bezahlung zu gewinnen. Unbewaffnet und überrascht, musste das rumänische Heer unterliegen. Nachdem jedoch Stefan die Ungarn geschlagen hatte, befahl er, dem verräterischen Heeresführer geschmelztes Gold in den Schlund zu schütten (11).

Die russischen Generale machten auf einem Feldzug gegen die Ungarn halt bei einem Bojaren in unsrem Lande, wobei sie als Entgelt das Heer auf dem Felde arbeiten liessen. Jedoch sie wurden von den Ungarn überrascht und geschlagen, wobei der türkische Kaiser diese Generale wie oben beschrieben bestrafen liess (12).

b.Oftmals unterstreichen die Wandermotive bestimmte Charaktereigenschaften der Personen, wie: Weisheit, Tapferkeit, Geschicklichkeit, Gerechtigkeitssinn, Humor u.dgl.m. und dergleichen mehr.

Das Motiv von der "Okka" (=1,291 Kg.) Fleisch aus dem Körper des Schuldners" ist sowohl in Sagen über Stefan den Grossen, wie auch in solchen über Cuza-Vodă, einen anderen wichtigen Herrscher aus unserer Geschichte, anzutreffen. Es unterstreicht die Geschicklichkeit und den Humor mit der die Beiden Herrscher an die Lösung von ähnlichen Situationen herangingen.

Als Cuza erfuhr, das ein Fleischer seine Kunden durch falsches Wägen betrog, erlaubte der Herrscher einem der Betrogenen Fleisch aus der Hand des Betrügers zu schneiden, jedoch mit der Bedingung, dass dieses Stück genau so schwer sei wie jenes um das er betrogen ward (13).

Bei einem Streit zwischen einem Gläubiger und seinem Schuldner, welcher

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letztere das Geld bloss so geborgt erhalten hatte,dass,falls er es nicht termingerecht zurückzahlen könne,man ihm eine Okka Fleisch aus dem Körper schneiden dürfe,hat Stefan der Grosse - der damals noch ein Kind war - dem Gläubiger recht gegeben,dabei aber die Bedingung gestellt,das herauszuschneidende Stück müsse genau dem vertraglich festgelegten Gewicht entsprechen (14).

B.Die "loci comunes" können jedoch auch von einer Sagen- und Legendenkategorie zur anderen hinüberwechseln.

1.Wandermotive,die sowohl in ätiologischen- wie auch in mythologische Sagen vorkommen,sind selten.

2.Zwischen ätiologischen Sagen und Legenden sind zahlreiche gemeinsame "loci comunes"anzutreffen.

Das Motiv von den"ausgetauschten Häuptern",das in den ätiologischen Sagen hauptsächlich den Ursprung bestimmter Merkmale des physischen Äusseren von Lebewesen oder gewisse geistige Züge der Frauen erklärt,hat in den Legenden manchmal eine gleiche subsidiäre Funktion,die aber verloren gehen kann,so dass das Motiv bloss die Kraft des betreffenden Heiligen Wunder zu wirken,vermittelt.

Gott gestattete einst dem Teufel das Pferd und den Esel zu erschaffen Verwirrt wie er war,vertauschte dieser die Häupter der beiden Tiere,so dass seither das Pferd einen für seinen Körper zu kleinen,der Esel aber zu grossen Kopf hat (15).

Der hl.Spiridon,der Wunder wirkende Schutzpatron der Schuster,hieb einmal dem Pferd und dem Esel die Häupter ab.Versehentlich fügte er sie sodann vertauscht den Rümpfen an und belebte die Tiere in dieser Gestalt wieder.Seitdem haben sie vertauschte Häupter (16).

In anderen Legenden wird erzählt,wie der Heilige mit einigen Verwandten herumreiste.Die Verwanten,die sich seiner ob seiner Kleidung schämten, suchten ihn von der Weiterreise abzuhalten,indem sie den Tieren die Häupter abschlugen.Der Heilige fügte sie jedoch wieder an,belebte die Tiere und vollbrachte auch noch andere Wunder (17).

Das Motiv "Die Frau hat einen Teufelskopf",in dem die Frau und der

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Teufel enthauptet werden und ihnen dann versehentlich die Köpfe vertauscht angefügt werden - ein Argument, das den "Teufelskopf" der Frau erklären soll - kann desgleichen in beiden Sagen- und Legendenkategorien angetroffen werden.

3. Die historischen Sagen haben desgleichen mit den ätiologischen Sagen gemeinsame "loci comunes".

Das Motiv vom "Umstürzen der Bäume" wird meistens als Kampfart mit den Tatareneinfällen in Zusammenhang gebracht.

In der Sage über die Gründung des Dorna-Gebietes - eine Gegend in unsrem Lande - wird erzählt, dass die Bojaren eine Tatarenschar gegen die Nachkommen des ersten Bewohners aus dieser Gegend entsandten, um diesen die Besitzurkunde abzunehmen. Mit Hilfe der Leute aus den anliegenden Gebieten gelang es den Dornaern die Bäume eines Waldes an den Wurzeln abzuhauen ohne sie umzustürzen; als die Tataren im Wald waren, wurden die Bäume umgestürzt und die Tataren vernichtet. (18)

Dasselbe wird von einer Schlacht erzählt, die Stefan dar Grosse gegen das polnische Heer ausgetragen hat (19). Das Motiv kehrt wieder in noch anderen historischen und ätiologischen Sagen (20).

4. Auch in den Legenden findet man gewisse "loci comunes" die auch in den historischen Sagen anzutreffen sind, wenn auch weniger oft.

Das Motiv der "Unverwundbarkeit", demnach gewisse Menschen nicht getötet werden können, wenn man nicht ein ganz bestimmtes Schiessverfahren anwendet oder die einzige verwundbare Körperstelle kennt, zirkuliert sowohl in den Legenden wie auch in den historischen Sagen.

Der hl. Ilie, der einen ständigen Kampf mit dem Teufel austrug, verfolgte diesen überallhin, um ihn mit seinem Blitzstrahl zu treffen. Einstmals verbarg sich der Teufel unter einem Stein, wo er von einem Hirten entdeckt und erschossen wurde. Aus Dankbarkeit schenkte der hl. Ilie dem Hirten die Gabe der Unverwundbarkeit: bloss mit in zwölf Gottesdiensten geweihten Weizenkörnern und Bleikugeln würde man ihn erschiessen können. (21)

Auch der Heiducke Pintea verfolgte den Teufel, ohne jedoch ihn zu töten; auch er erhielt die Eigenschaft der Unverwundbarkeit. Die einzige Mög-

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lichkeit ihn zu töten kannte bloss seine Geliebte,die ihn dann auch verriet (22)

Im allgemeinen dienen die "loci comunes" dazu,ähnliche Situationen zu unterstreichen,die Handlung dramatisch zu steigern,die Hauptperson zu umreissen oder gewisse psychische oder physische Eigenschaften hervorzuheben.Die Wandermotive stellen eine ständige Verbindung zur Tradition her, aus der diese Klischees entstammen,die der Handlung stets einen neuen Anstrich verleihen.Obwohl die "loci comunes"in der Folklore klarer hervortreten,können sie doch einigermassen mit den von Ernst Curtius in seinem Buch über die Zusammenhänge zwischen der europäischen Literatur und dem lateinischen Mittelalter (23) erwähnten Konstanten verglichen werden,die eine gewisse Kontinuität zwischen Vergangenheit und Gegenwart in der Literatur herstellen, die Kontinuität der sogenannten literarischen Tradition,was - wie der Autor meint - ein vereinfachender Sammelbegriff für eine Vielzahl von komplizierten Tatsachen ist.

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Gheorghe Vrabie

IST DAS MÄRCHEN PROSA MIT MODERNER STRUKTUR?

Zahlreiche gelehrte Studien - und ihre Reihe ist noch nicht zu Ende - haben die mythologische, anthropologische oder historische Unterschicht des Zaubermärchens ans Licht gehoben. Das heisst, gerade jenes Element, das zur universalen Seite dieser Folklore-Gattung gehört, denn derartige Grundbestandteile haben Wandercharakter und sind überall in der europäischen und oft auch aussereuropäischen Volksprosa anzutreffen.

Aber während einer gewöhnlichen Lektüre hat der Leser nicht den Eindruck, das Märchen sei von Elementen durchzogen, die andern Zonen als denen des menschlichen Daseins angehören, obwohl ~~Es stimmt, dass~~ grotesque, ungewöhnliche Helden auftauchen, Welten der Poesie und des Traums, ungewöhnliche epische Mittel und seltsame Räume. All diese scheinen aber das Ergebnis einer brillanten Phantasie, scheinen Stützen einer typischen Märchenpoesie und einer der absurden Prosa benachbarten Kunst zu sein, von der die heutige Literaturkritik so gerne spricht. Die erwähnten Unterschichten sind verschleiert, der mythologische und anthropologische Aspekt tauchen unter, verschwinden im Halbschatten, und in den Vordergrund tritt die lokale, national gefärbte Ambiance. Man ist versucht, zu behaupten, anstelle der obenerwähnten Schichten dränge sich vorlaut die ethnische Schicht in den Vordergrund.

In einer regionalen Sammlung von Volksprosa, die in den letzten Jahren zuammengestellt wurde und ihrer Veröffentlichung harrt, stellte ich fest, dass das Zaubermärchen in jenem Teil Rumäniens (am Lauf des Argeş) Ausdruck einer bestimmten Lebensweise ist, sei es die der Hirten, Bauern oder der unscheinbaren Gewerbetreibenden (Mattenflechter, Holzfäller usw.). Von über hundert Motiven aus dem Repertoire des alten Nicolaie Roşu von Domneşti (Argeş) spann der Grossteil sich um Hirtendinge, weil der Alte im Schafzüchtermilieu gelebt hatte und selbst sein Leben lang Schafhirt gewesen war. In derselben Weise verhalten sich die Dinge auch im Bereich des Landmanns und der Holzfäller.

Bei Motiven wie das ~~Von Sonnenross~~ allbekannte vom (AaTh 510, Aschenputtel - Cinderella), wo in manchen Fassungen (wie z. B. der französischen Charles Perraults) von Prinzen und Hofbällen, von Zimmern voller Tapeten und Spiegel, silbernen Schuhen usw. die Rede ist, wird in der rumänischen Version das als Dienstmagd eingetretene Mädchen schwersten ~~Prüfungen~~ Proben bäuerischer Arbeit unterworfen: es muss Hirse säubern, Hanf spinnen

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usw. Eine Kuh, die es täglich auf die Weide führt, hilft ihm diese schweren Aufgaben zu erfüllen. Ähnliche Feststellungen kann man auch anhand eines andern, in der internationalen Volksprosa häufigen Motivs machen, das überall unter dem Namen Däumling bekannt ist (AaTh 700, Le petit Poucet - Daumendick). In dem überlieferten Thema des Himmelsbaumes (AaTh) verquicken die Helden des rumänischen Märchens die jahrtausendealte Sage mit ihrem alltäglichen Leben. Da sie arme, von Sehnsucht nach einem besseren Leben erfüllte Bauern sind, verlangen sie ein Haus anstelle ihrer Erdhütte, Wagen und Vieh, landwirtschaftliches Gerät, wie die Reichen es besitzen, als sie in den Himmel vor das Antlitz der göttlichen Allmacht gelangen.

Die Lebensweise schlägt sich als Schicht sogar in den Lügengeschichten häufig nieder. Im südosteuropäischen Raum zirkuliert das Motiv vom Kürbiskern, aus dem ein ungeheurer Kürbis entspringt, sobald er auf die Erde fällt. Der heldenhafte Bauernsohn betritt den Kürbis, um sein Messer zu suchen, das ihm entfallen ist, und stösst darin auf einen Pferdezüchter, der sein Gestüt verloren hat.

Die Lüge ist saftig, das Märchen fesselnd. Es erzeugt viel Gelächter, und die Bilder folgen so rasch aufeinander wie in einem Film.

Aus diesem Bereich führt der Erzähler den Zuhörer in einen andern, derselben Beschaffenheit, voll unverblümter Anspielungen auf die Armut des rumänischen Bauern zur Zeit der Entstehung des Märchens (Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts). Ich zitiere: "Als mein Blick über die Felder schweifte, sah ich einige Bauern pflügen. Bei näherem Hinsehen gewahrte ich die Biene meines Vaters mit einem Büffel ins Joch gespannt. Ich ging hin und befreite sie. Als ich sie besser in Augenschein nahm, bemerkte ich, dass ihr Nacken vom Joch aufgerieben war. Etwas weiter fand ich eine grosse Nuss. Ich knackte sie auf und entnahm ihr den Kern und verband damit den Nacken der Biene. Als ich später nachschaute, siehe da! Aus ihrem Nacken war ein so grosser Nussbaum emporgewachsen, dass man seine Spitze kaum sah. Er war voller Nüsse, und wer daran vorbeiging, bediente sich nach Belieben."

Im folgenden wirft der Held einen Brocken Erde in den Nußbaum hinauf, der Brocken fällt nicht mehr auf die Erde zurück, sondern verwandelt sich flugs in ein wunderschönes Kornfeld, das ein Hase mit einer Sichel unterzupflügen. Aber der Brocken kehrte nicht mehr zurück, sondern am Schwanz im Sturmlauf niedermäht.

~~Als ich so dastand und den Nussbaum ansah, überlegte ich, dass die Biene meinem Vater gehöre und der Nussbaum also mein sei. Ich nahm einen Brocken Erde und warf ihn hinauf, um einige Nüsse herunterzuholen. Aber der Brocken kehrte nicht mehr zurück, sondern verwandelte sich über dem Nussbaum in einen Garten, dessen Rand man nicht sah. Und ich dachte mir: Die Biene gehört meinem Vater, die Nuss ist mein, also gehört auch das Gut mir. Da stieg ich~~

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hinauf

Derartige geradezu absurde und völlig aus dem Reich der Fabel gegriffene Situationen werden ausgeheckt, damit die Lüge so ungeheuer wie möglich klingt, und der Erzähler dem seinen Gegenspieler in dem Lügenwettbewerb, den sie austragen, übertrumpft. Dieser erfindet zu demselben Behuf dann ähnliche Situationen.

Die ethnische Schicht erzeugt auch eine poetische Schicht, das heisst ein Gebilde künstlerischer Mittel des mündlichen, dem Märchenerzählereigenen Ausdrucks, aber auch eine gewisse lokale Ambiance, die dem betreffenden Raum eigen ist. Der Begriff "poetische Schicht" verlangt hier etwas weiter aufgefasst zu werden. Es handelt sich nicht nur um sprachliche Mittel, um Hyperbeln und dergleichen, auch die Erzähltechnik, nach der einige Motive wiedergegeben werden, kann in Frage kommen (ein Aspekt, der auf dem vorangegangenen Kongress in Athen behandelt wurde) oder Eigenheiten des Sujets, des Themas, der Grundidee sowie eine gewisse innere Struktur.

Verweilen wir einen Augenblick bei der Idee, um zu beweisen wie wichtig sie für die innere Struktur eines Märchens sein kann.

Die Tatsache, dass beinahe alle Helden des Zaubermärchens einen unnatürlichen Ursprung haben, aus Pflanzen, Steinen oder Tieren entstehen, aus einem Stück Eisen oder einem formlosen Stück Fleisch, aus einem Blatt usw., führt uns unmittelbar an die Idee absurder Prosa heran. Dieses hat aber auch einen andern Sinn: tiefe und natürliche Gefühle beim Leser oder Hörer zu erwecken. Ein Beispiel dafür:

Zwei alte Leute tun alles, um mit einem Kind gesegnet zu werden. Ihr Wunsch ist so lebhaft, dass sie eine Wiege anfertigen, ein Scheit Lindenholz hineinlegen und es zu wiegen beginnen. Die Alte wiegt es so lange, "bis sie plötzlich Kinderweinen hörte". Als sie hinsahen, "lag anstelle des Holzes ein prächtiger, schöner Knabe da, wie es keinen mehr unter der Sonne und unter dem Mond gab. Die arme Alte weinte und lachte vor Freude und stürmte hinein und hinaus". Wie ersichtlich, rührt der Erzähler hier an mütterliche, elterliche Gefühle, die den Zuhörer tief beeindrucken. Ein anderer Fakt:

Sobald er auf der Welt ist, wächst der Märchenheld "wie im Märchen". Dieses zweite Glied der Kette ist logisch vollkommen motiviert durch die wunderbare Geburt. Im allgemeinen stecken diese Helden voll unerwarteter erotischer Unruhe. Wie viele Abenteuer muss der Held nicht bestehen, wenn er seinem vorbestimmten Schicksal folgt und in die weite Welt zieht. Er muss Gebirge überqueren, wüste Gegenden durchziehen, ins "jenseitige Bereich" eindringen, sich durch das Reich des "Drachens", des "Greifen" usw. durchkämpfen. Die Räume wirken seltsam, trotz ihrer nationalen Färbung.

Und weshalb muss er all diese Gefahren bestehen? Damit der Erzähler eine andere Idee zur Geltung bringen kann, die auch in der Kunstlitera-

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- 4 -

tur häufig zu finden ist, nämlich: dass eine grosse Liebe Opfer und Tapferkeit fordert. Der Held verwandelt sich in einen Don Quijote, der von der Idee besessen ist, die Dulcinea seiner Träume zu finden. Solche ungewöhnliche Unterfangen ordnen sich perfekt in die Logik des Märchens ein. Sie verleihen ihm die Eigenschaft heldischer und exotischer Prosa und nähern es dem Abenteuerroman an. Die Handlungsräume sind äusserst verschieden, der Zuhörer oder Leser wird durch unglaublich abwechslungsreiche Gefilde getragen und lernt seltsame Welten kennen.

Der Ursprung des Helden und die Proben, die er [illegible] in seiner natürlichen oder unter angenommener Gestalt zu bestehen hat, die Gegenstände oder Lebewesen, die ihm zu Hilfe eilen, verleihen dem Zaubermärchen die Eigenheiten einer saftigen absurden Prosa, die die Phantasie des Zuhörers reizt und dergleichen seelische Zustände erzeugt wie jede grosse, zeitlose, dem unentwegt sich entwickelnden Menschengeist eigene Kunst.

Aus diesem Grunde frage ich mich, ob man die volkstümliche Zauberprosa, als Produkt einer Lebensweise und zugleich einer typischen Gestaltungsweise, nicht von diesem Standpunkt näher untersuchen müsste: dem Standpunkt ihrer Modernität?

MMB Editorial Note

Supposedly, and naturally, small changes inside the participants' presentation titles belonged to the authors themselves (i.e. mind changes in between the months-ahead preregistration and the actual arrival to the Congress). Yet, it also was possible sometimes the „local organizing committee" itself to cut off or add 1-2 words in order to improve the titles and abstracts initially or hastily communicated to Bucharest. The present series exemplifies such situations with the case of Oldřich Sirovátka, Ligia Bîrgu-Georgescu, and Gheorghe Vrabie. Thus, in the printed Program, Sirovátka's title reads: „... Prinzip der müdlichen Volksüberlieferung" (the word *müdlichen* ["oral"] inserted). Bîrgu-Georgescu's title appears in the Program as *Quelques éléments d'absurde dans le conte contemporain roumain* (Some Absurd Elements in the Contemporary Romanian Tale), whereas in her own text (printed above) the contemporariness issue is absent (mentioning the folk prose only). In the Program, G. Vrabie's German paper was promised/announced in French: *Le conte populaire – prose á structure moderne?*

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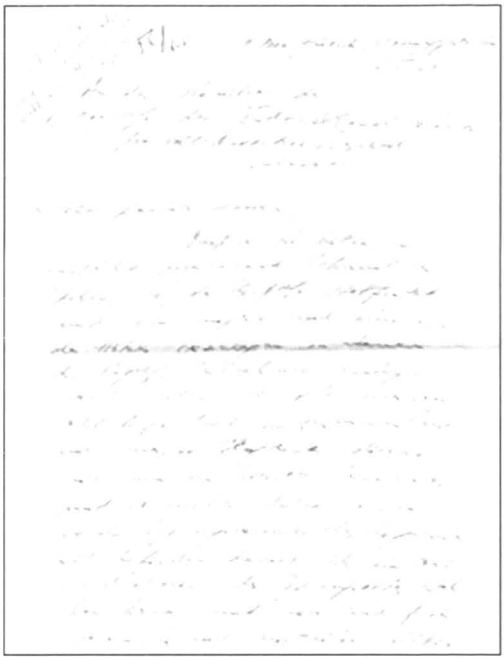
REMEMBERING '69: CELEBRITIES' LETTERS CONNECTED TO THE 5TH ISFNR CONGRESS (PART 2)

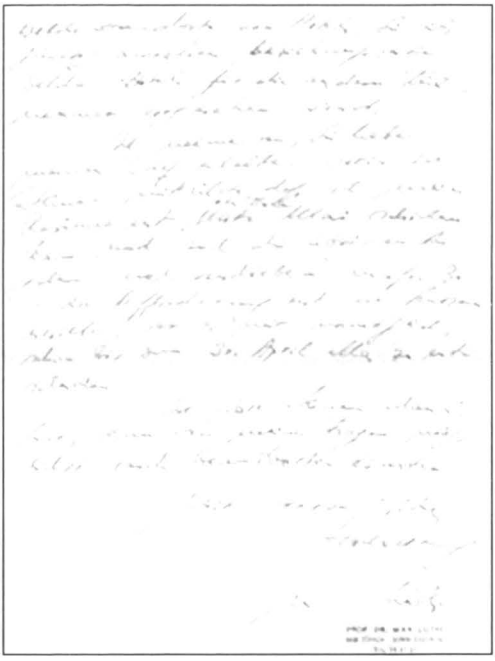
MARIN MARIAN-BĂLAȘA

ABSTRACT

This section continues the pictorial-based article devoted to the publishing of the most academically consistent letters which were exchanged in connection with the 5th ISFNR Congress (Bucharest, Romania: August 25-31, 1969). Selected out of several hundreds (though an incomplete collections), the letters belong to the Archive of the „C. Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore (Bucharest), where the team of its director of yore, Mihai Pop, duly preserved them – boxed, closed up and then ignored. Forgotten for a half a century, they are exposed now especially for the contemporary research to better realize the power of connecting, exchanging, building up personal, socio-political and academic ideas and careers, through meetings, postal letters, public gatherings and influential ideological and epistemological discussions.

Keywords: ISFNR, SIEF, Bucharest, folklore, folklore studies, ethnology, narratives, archive, letters, academic life, personalities.





REF/JEF (Bucharest) 1-2/2024: 251-286. DOI: 10.59277/JEF.2024.1-2.19

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44a & 44b. Obverse & reverse of the above letter, in which Max Lüthi inquiries on locations of both Congress works and accommodation facilities.

Bukarest, 7. Mai

Prof.Dr.Max Lüthi
Sonneggstr. 80
8006 Zürich

Sehr geehrter Herr Kollege!

Bitte die Verspätete Sendung unseres zweites Rundschreiben zu entschuldigen und Ihnen darüber keine Sorge zu machen. Wir werden selbstverständlich warten bis Sie uns der Resumé senden werden d.h. bis 15. Mai, so wie Sie uns versprochen haben.

Gleichzeitig bitten wir Sie uns die Zimmerbestellungskarte senden zu wollen.

Hochachtungsvoll,

Prof.Dr.Mihai Pop

45. The letter of docs 44a&b does not arrive to Bucharest before this call (abstract and hotel of choice to be submitted), which reminds Lüthi of what is expected from him.

14.Mai

Prof.Dr.Max Lüthi
Sonneggstrasse 80
8006 ZÜRICH

Sehr geehrter Herr Professor!

In Erhalt Ihres wertvolles Schreibens vom 4. d.Mts, teilen wir Ihnen folgendes mit:

Der Kongres findet entweder an der grosser Aula des Akademie oder in einer Sall in der nebenbei Gebäude statt. Alle Hotellen sind nicht so weit entfernt. Das Nord-Hotel und Athénée Palace sind am nächsten, sogar 5-7 Minutes zu Fuss.

Wir sind in der Erwart Ihres Resumees und grüssen Sie,

Hochachtungsvoll,

Das Organisationskomitee,

46. Only after one week some of his worries are addressed (in accordance to Pop's hand-written pencil note on doc 44a).

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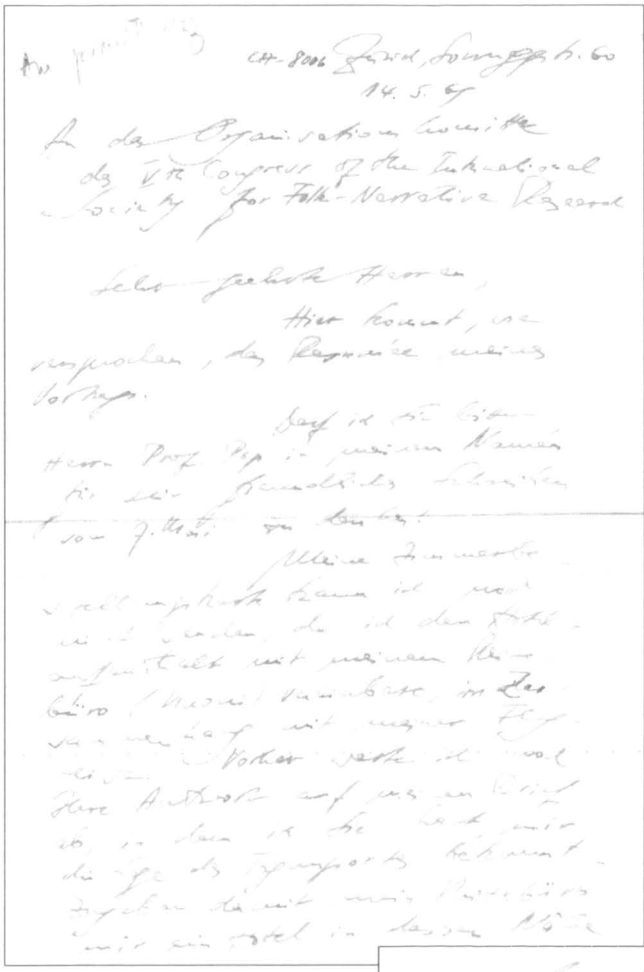

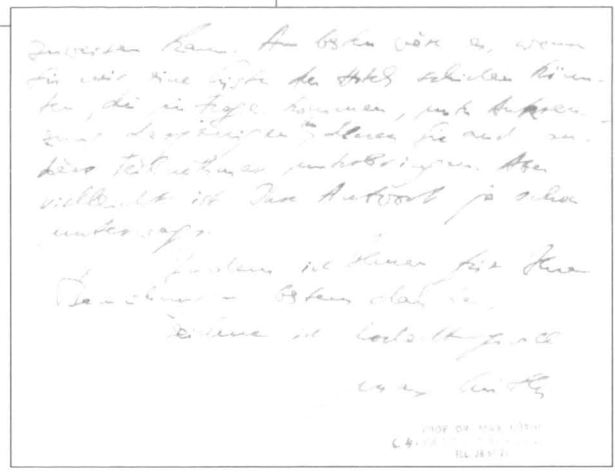

47a & **47b.** Obverse & reverse of coming again with the same administrative interests by professor from Zürich, the same day he is written to from Bucharest. Mailing desynchronizations.

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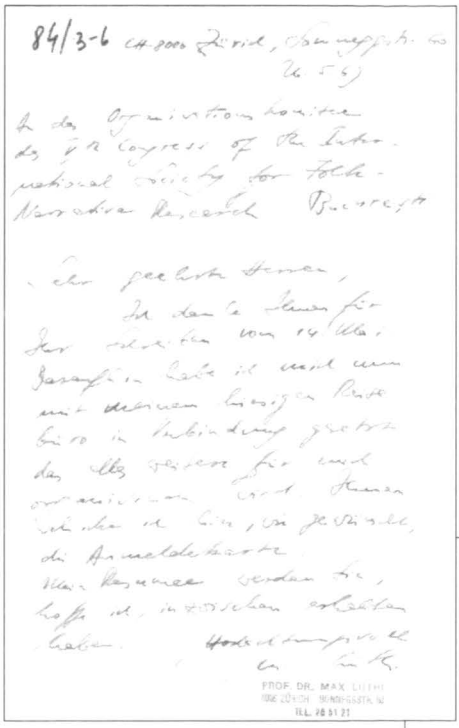
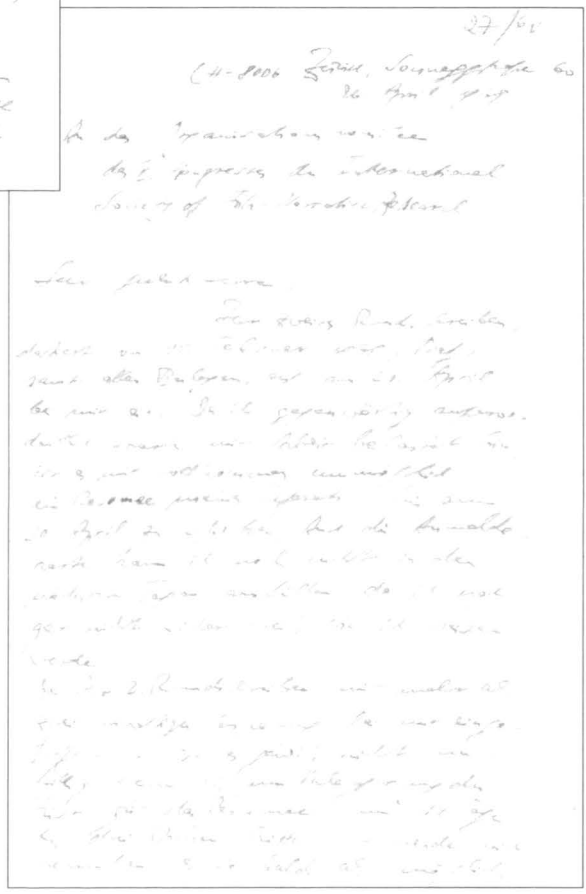


48. Just a confirmation. The type of majority letters, focusing on the infrastructure of academic performances. (A reason why, probably, not all letters were preserved, motive for which, hereby for sure, few were retained and published).



49a. Lüthi's last details (nearby hotels are good, he'll be accompanied by his wife).

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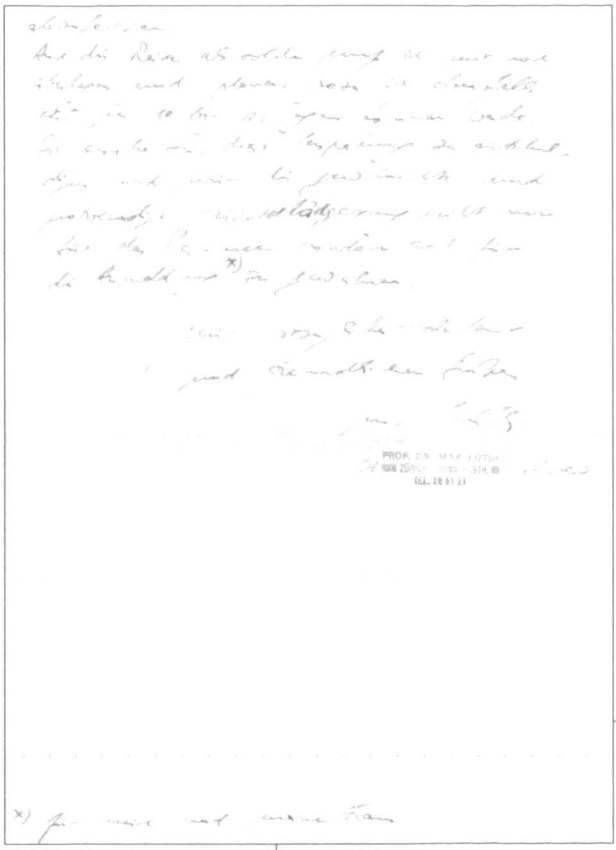

49b. Reverse of the above doc.

50. No answer to the letter below was preserved, though not to respond was everything but Mihai Pop. A 1933 book prefaced by Moses Gaster, the Folklore Society in London, these were clues strong enough to catch Pop's entire interest and attention. As in other cases, the sender was surely told it was too late he to be introduced in the printed Program and list, but should still come and present his intended paper – as several others did and found gaps to accommodate them within the paper delivering sessions. The absence of any text signed by Maitlis from the archival collection rather proves his no-show during the entire Congress.

36 HALLSWELLE ROAD.
LONDON, N.W.11

4th July 1969.

The Secretary,
V. Congress of the International Society,
for Folk-Narrative Research,
Bucarest.

Dear Sir,

only at this late stage I am writing to you regarding my participation at the V.Congress.
My research into Folklore covers in the main the Old-Yiddish folk-story and Hebrew narrative. I have published several studies and papers on this subject, and my first monograph on the famous Ma'asse-Buch (with an introduction by Dr.M.Gaster) appeared already in Berlin,1933.
On the advice of the Folklore Society ,University College London, I am writing to you now to ask you whether there is still time for my registration as a participant to the Congress and whether there is still room for a paper on the Old-Yiddish folktale to be read by me. It goes without saying that I should be grateful indeed if you could advise me accordingly so that I could make my arrangements in good time. Upon hearing from you I shall be only too pleased to send you the registration fee.
May I now look forward to your kind and immediate attention? With many thanks in anticipation,

Yours truly,

Dr. J. Maitlis.

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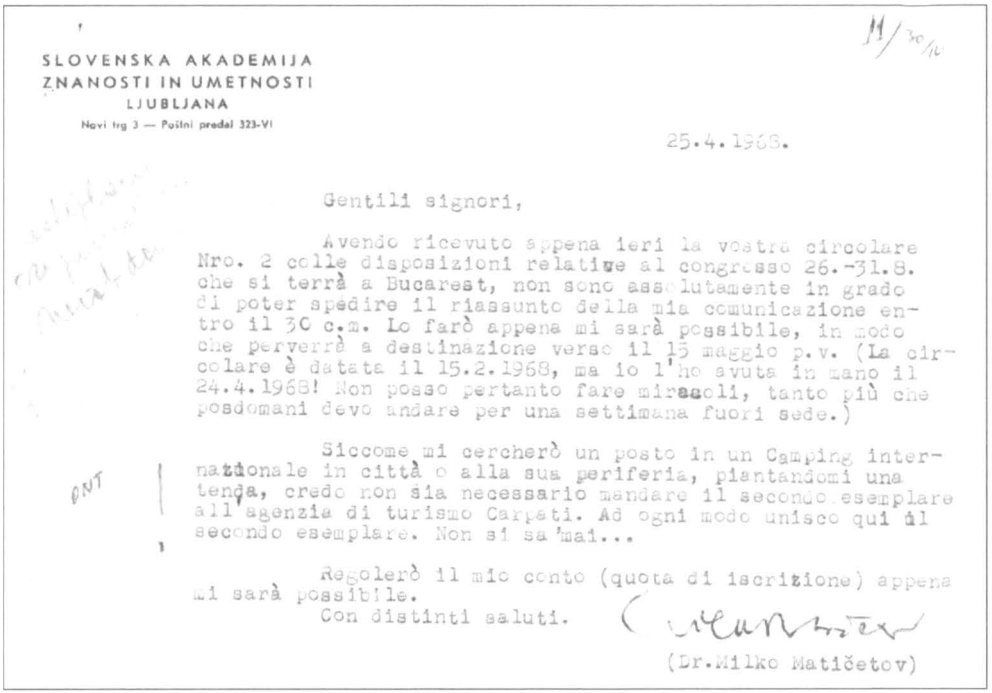


SLOVENSKA AKADEMIJA
ZNANOSTI IN UMETNOSTI
LJUBLJANA
Novi trg 3 — Poštni predal 323-VI

11/30/12

25.4.1968.

Gentili signori,

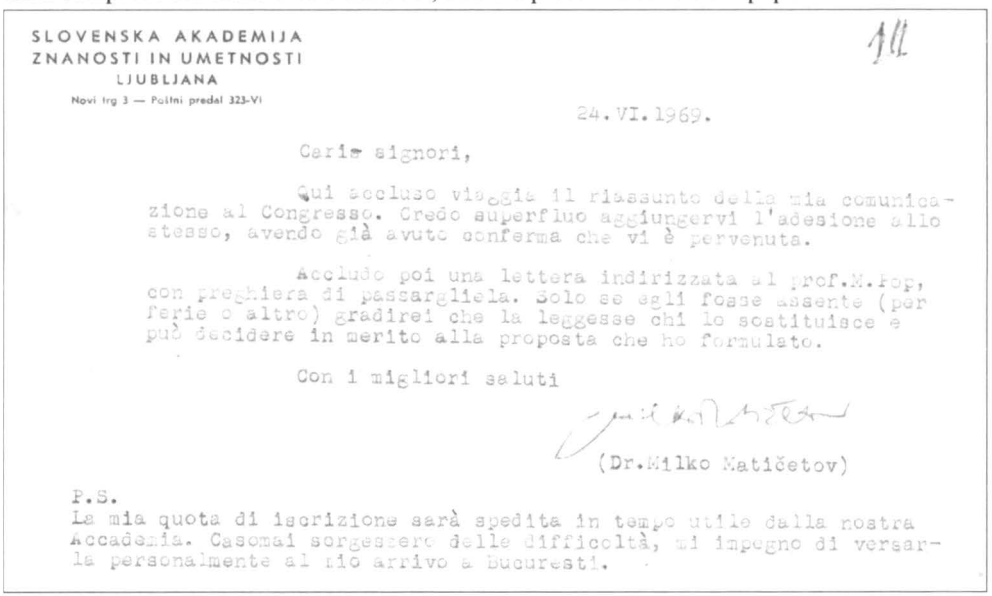
Avendo ricevuto appena ieri la vostra circolare Nro. 2 colle disposizioni relative al congresso 26.-31.8. che si terrà a Bucarest, non sono assolutamente in grado di poter spedire il riassunto della mia comunicazione entro il 30 c.m. Lo farò appena mi sarà possibile, in modo che perverrà a destinazione verso il 15 maggio p.v. (La circolare è datata il 15.2.1968, ma io l'ho avuta in mano il 24.4.1968! Non posso pertanto fare miracoli, tanto più che posdomani devo andare per una settimana fuori sede.)

Siccome mi cercherò un posto in un Camping internazionale in città o alla sua periferia, piantandomi una tenda, credo non sia necessario mandare il secondo esemplare all'agenzia di turismo Carpati. Ad ogni modo unisco qui il secondo esemplare. Non si sa mai...

Regolerò il mio conto (quota di iscrizione) appena mi sarà possibile.
Con distinti saluti.

(Dr.Milko Matičetov)

51. A text in Italian from a Slovenian colleague, who would prefer to stay in a peripheral tents camp. He did make it to Bucharest, and did present a consistent paper… in German.



SLOVENSKA AKADEMIJA
ZNANOSTI IN UMETNOSTI
LJUBLJANA
Novi trg 3 — Poštni predal 323-VI

11

24. VI. 1969.

Cari signori,

Qui accluso vi aggia il riassunto della mia comunicazione al Congresso. Credo superfluo aggiungervi l'adesione allo stesso, avendo già avuto conferma che vi è pervenuta.

Accludo poi una lettera indirizzata al prof.M.Pop, con preghiera di passargliela. Solo se egli fosse assente (per ferie o altro) gradirei che la leggesse chi lo sostituisce e può decidere in merito alla proposta che ho formulato.

Con i migliori saluti

(Dr.Milko Matičetov)

P.S.
La mia quota di iscrizione sarà spedita in tempo utile dalla nostra Accademia. Casomai sorgessero delle difficoltà, mi impegno di versarla personalmente al mio arrivo a Bucuresti.

52. Repeated/insuring promises that all will be in compliance with regulations.

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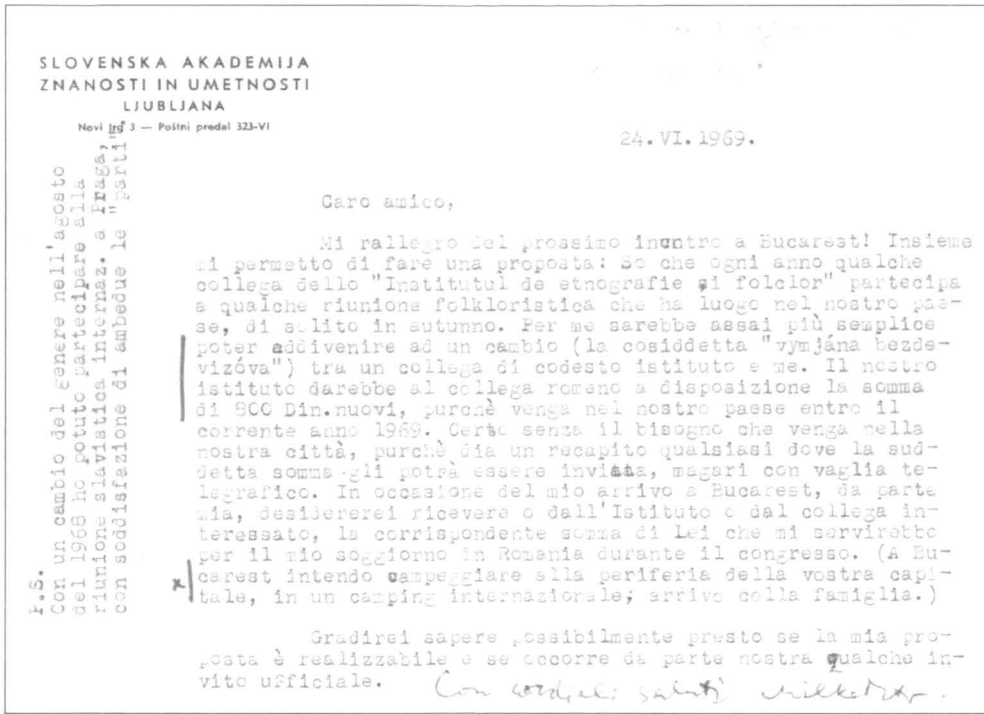

SLOVENSKA AKADEMIJA
ZNANOSTI IN UMETNOSTI
LJUBLJANA
Novi trg 3 — Poštni predal 323-VI

24. VI. 1969.

Caro amico,

Mi rallegro del prossimo incontro a Bucarest! Insieme mi permetto di fare una proposta: So che ogni anno qualche collega dello "Institutul de etnografie şi folclor" partecipa a qualche riunione folkloristica che ha luogo nel nostro paese, di solito in autunno. Per me sarebbe assai più semplice poter addivenire ad un cambio (la cosiddetta "vymjána bezdevizóva") tra un collega di codesto istituto e me. Il nostro istituto darebbe al collega romeno a disposizione la somma di 800 Din. nuovi, purchè venga nel nostro paese entro il corrente anno 1969. Certo senza il bisogno che venga nella nostra città, purchè dia un recapito qualsiasi dove la suddetta somma gli potrà essere inviata, magari con vaglia telegrafico. In occasione del mio arrivo a Bucarest, da parte mia, desidererei ricevere o dall'Istituto o dal collega interessato, la corrispondente somma di Lei che mi servirebbe per il mio soggiorno in Romenia durante il congresso. (A Bucarest intendo campeggiare alla periferia della vostra capitale, in un camping internazionale; arrivo colla famiglia.)

P.S. Con un cambio del genere nell'agosto del 1968 ho potuto partecipare alla riunione slavistica internaz. a Praga, con soddisfazione di ambedue le parti

Gradirei sapere possibilmente presto se la mia proposta è realizzabile e se occorre da parte nostra qualche invito ufficiale. Con cordiali saluti Milko Matičetov.

Monsieur,

Nous avons bien reçu le texte de votre communication et attendons avec grand plaisir votre arrivée au Congrès.

Nous regrettons ne pas pouvoir donner une réponse favorable quant à la lettre adressée à Mr. Pop, vu que nous ne savons pas avec précision jusqu'à présent quels seront les spécialistes roumains qui participeront au Congrès des Folkloristes Jougoslaves de cette année.

Agréez, Monsieur le Docteur, l'expression de notre haute considération.

Le Comité d'Organisation,

Al. Amzulescu

53 & **54.** The unusual institutional currency lending proposition (on the account of an experts exchange program) makes the managerial secretariat (namely Al.I. Amzulescu) to ask the director: "Comrade Pop, please instruct us how to answer!" (pencil handwritten note on the top). In the second doc, one can see Amzulescu doing the diplomate director's "dirty job" of delivering the negative answers, of protecting Pop from exposure/controversy, of helping him avoid all delicate issues. (Covered date and address only.)

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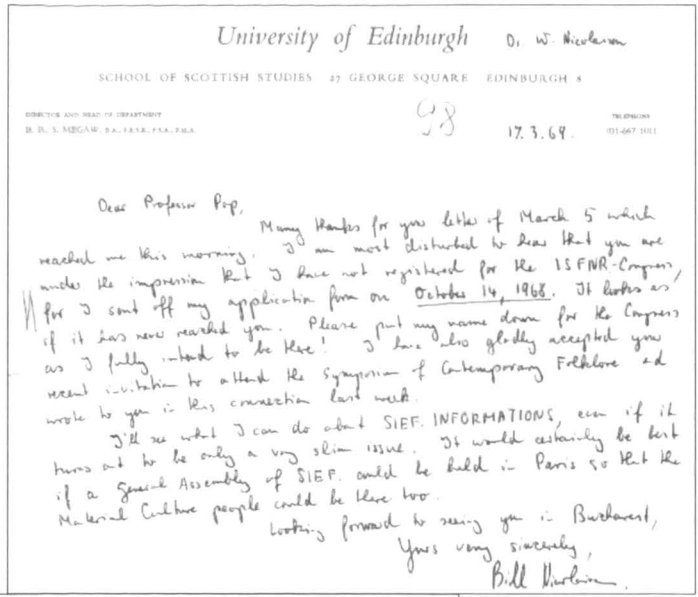
55. With Wilhelm Fritz Hermann Nicolaisen (whose previous letter seemed lost), Pop wants to discuss SIEF related details. In fact, at that time, both K.C. Peeters (the current president of the SIEF) and Pop (future SIEF president) were excellent supporters and collaborators of Kurt Ranke (the ISFNR's creator).



University of Edinburgh

SCHOOL OF SCOTTISH STUDIES 27 GEORGE SQUARE EDINBURGH 8

17.3.69.

Dear Professor Pop,

Many thanks for your letter of March 5 which reached me this morning. I am most disturbed to hear that you are under the impression that I have not registered for the ISFNR-Congress, for I sent off my application form on October 14, 1968. It looks as if it has never reached you. Please put my name down for the Congress as I fully intend to be there! I have also gladly accepted your recent invitation to attend the Symposium of Contemporary Folklore and wrote to you in this connection last week.

I'll see what I can do about SIEF. INFORMATIONS, even if it turns out to be only a very slim issue. It would certainly be best if a General Assembly of SIEF. could be held in Paris so that the Material Culture people could be there too.

Looking forward to seeing you in Bucharest,

Yours very sincerely,

Bill Nicolaisen.

28th March 1969

Dr. W. Nicolaisen
University of Edinburgh
School of Scottish Studies
27, George Square
EDINBURGH 8

Dear Professor Nicolaisen,

Concerning your letter of 17.3.1969, it was indeed a misteke of our not to look into the Congress files. We had of cours your application form in due time and you'll soon receive the second circular, together with a list of participants who are reading a paper among whom figures your name also

Until our meeting, I remain

Yours sincerely

Prof.Dr.Mihai Pop

56. Eventually, despite this letter, the Scottish fellow will figure out in the list of passive participants, with no paper to be read during the Congress.

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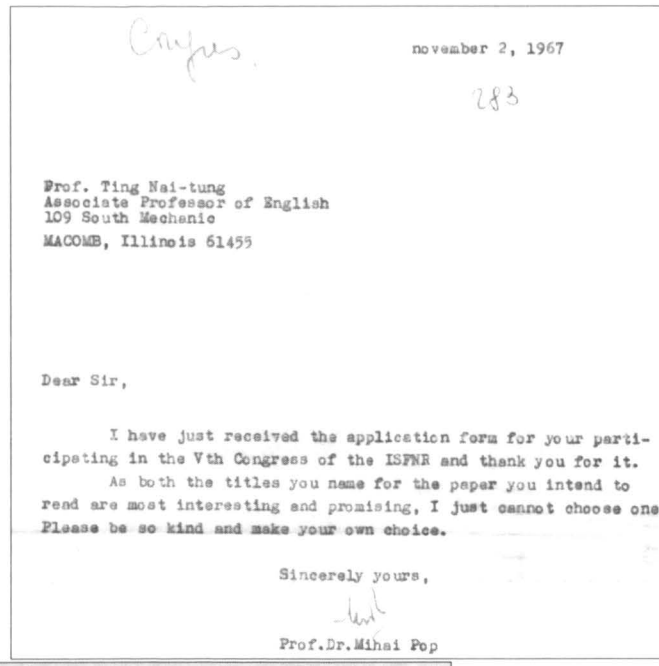
57. A simple acknowledgement, (application received, the choice for subject and title should be on the author himself). "1967" has a typo mistake – the Congress communication starts in 1968 only.



Congres

november 2, 1967

283

Prof. Ting Nai-tung
Associate Professor of English
109 South Mechanic
MACOMB, Illinois 61455

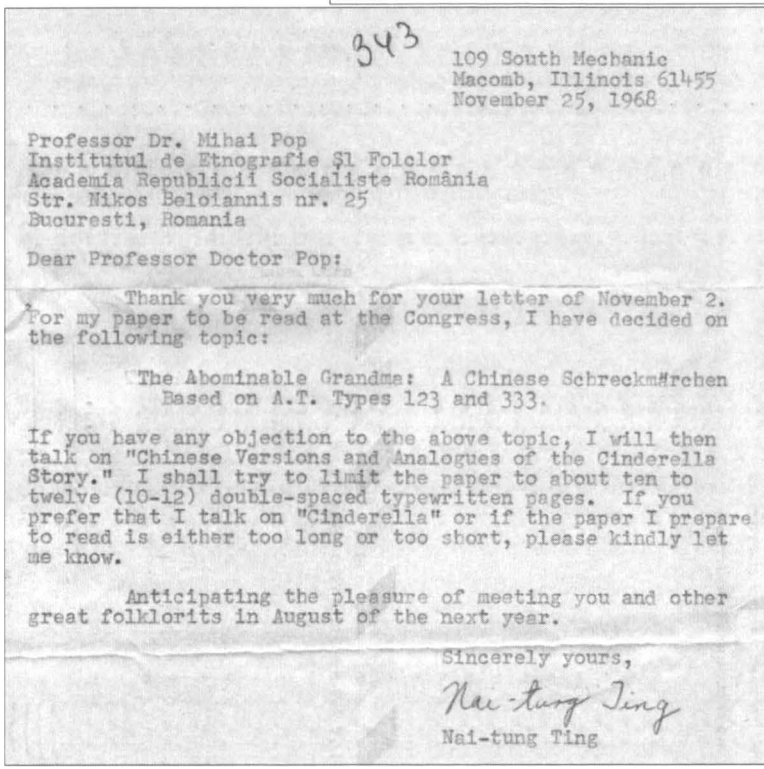
Dear Sir,

I have just received the application form for your participating in the Vth Congress of the ISFNR and thank you for it.

As both the titles you name for the paper you intend to read are most interesting and promising, I just cannot choose one. Please be so kind and make your own choice.

Sincerely yours,

Prof.Dr.Mihai Pop



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109 South Mechanic
Macomb, Illinois 61455
November 25, 1968

Professor Dr. Mihai Pop
Institutul de Etnografie Şl Folclor
Academia Republicii Socialiste România
Str. Nikos Beloiannis nr. 25
Bucuresti, Romania

Dear Professor Doctor Pop:

Thank you very much for your letter of November 2. For my paper to be read at the Congress, I have decided on the following topic:

The Abominable Grandma: A Chinese Schreckmärchen
Based on A.T. Types 123 and 333.

If you have any objection to the above topic, I will then talk on "Chinese Versions and Analogues of the Cinderella Story." I shall try to limit the paper to about ten to twelve (10-12) double-spaced typewritten pages. If you prefer that I talk on "Cinderella" or if the paper I prepare to read is either too long or too short, please kindly let me know.

Anticipating the pleasure of meeting you and other great folklorits in August of the next year.

Sincerely yours,

Nai-tung Ting

Nai-tung Ting

58. Though the above answer was more than clear, the undecided colleague still offers himself to read one or the other paper. Of the "abominable grandma", his text is published in REF/JEF 1-2/ 2023: 211-217 (+ several pics capturing N.-T. Ting: same vol.: 198, 201).

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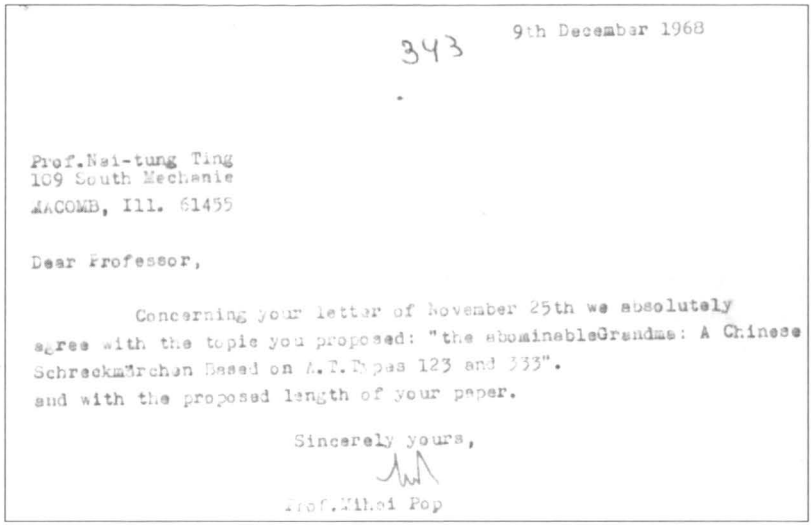


343

9th December 1968

Prof.Nai-tung Ting
109 South Mechanic
JACOMB, Ill. 61455

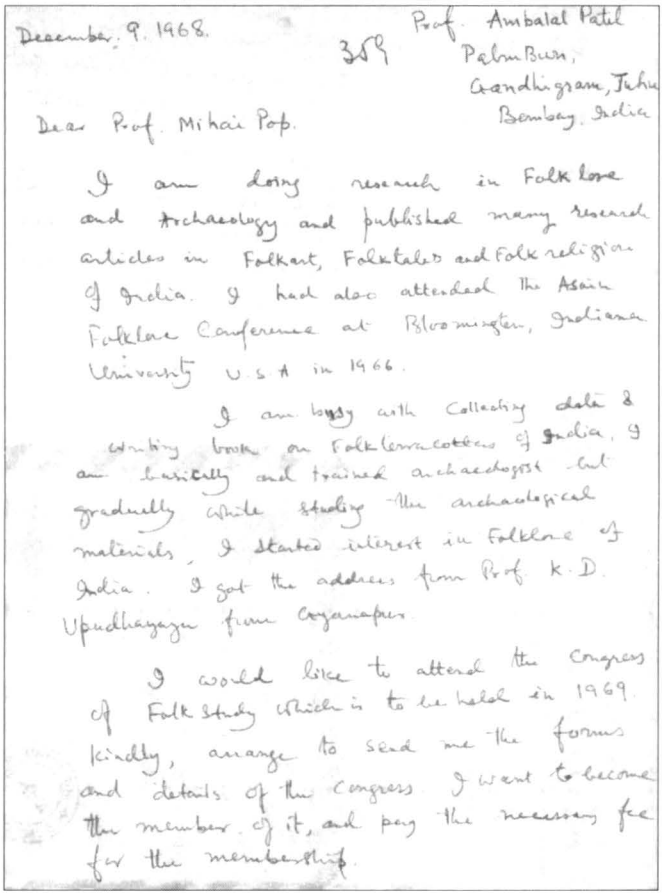
Dear Professor,

Concerning your letter of November 25th we absolutely agree with the topic you proposed: "the abominableGrandma: A Chinese Schreckmärchen Based on A.T.Types 123 and 333".
and with the proposed length of your paper.

Sincerely yours,

Prof.Mihai Pop

59. Ending the matter of theme/topical choice.



December 9. 1968.

359

Prof. Ambalal Patil
Palm Bun,
Gandhigram, Jahu
Bombay. India

Dear Prof. Mihai Pop.

I am doing research in Folk lore and Archaeology and published many research articles in Folkart, Folktales and Folk religion of India. I had also attended the Asian Folklore Conference at Bloomington, Indiana University U.S.A in 1966.

I am busy with Collecting data & writing books on Folklore cottons of India. I am basically and trained archaeologist but gradually while studying the archaeological materials, I started interest in Folklore of India. I got the address from Prof. K.D. Upadhayaya from Coyamapur.

I would like to attend the Congress of Folk Study which is to be held in 1969. kindly, arrange to send me the forms and details of the Congress. I went to become the member of it, and pay the necessary fee for the membership.

60a. Obverse letter of the Bombay-based professor of archeology and folklore, who wants to attend the Congress and become an ISFNR member.

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Dr. Upadhyaya wrote me that he had written about the congress and sending for the forms for me. Anyway, letter might have not reached to you or lost.

I shall be highly obliged if you would send the forms and details of the congress

with thanks.

yours Sincerely
Ambalal Patel

Prof. Dr. Mihai Pop
Institutul de Etnografie si Folclor
Str. Nikos Beloiannis Nr. 25
Bucuresti 36, Romania

PAR AVION
BY AIR MAIL
AEROGRAMME

Prof. Ambalal
Palmbun, Ganchigram
Juhu, B

60b. Reverse of the piece above (the sender got Pop's address from another well-connected Indian professor, signing correspondent of items no 85-86).

December 10 1968

SUMATI MORARJEE FOUNDATION
Palmbun, Ganchigram
Juhu, BOMBAY - 56

Dear Prof Mihai Pop

I am very sorry to send you the form for the Congress. I received it late. Kindly accept it and advise me where to send the $ 10:00 for the membership fee. I have prepared an article on "Folk tales as represented in Indian Art and Archaeology.

I shall be very greatful if you also send me the details of the Congress

Excuse me for delay.

yours very Sincerely
A. J. Patel.

61. Patel will be registered and included in the speakers' program with the here mentioned title. Yet, his actual presence was not documented, nor text of him left behind was ever found.

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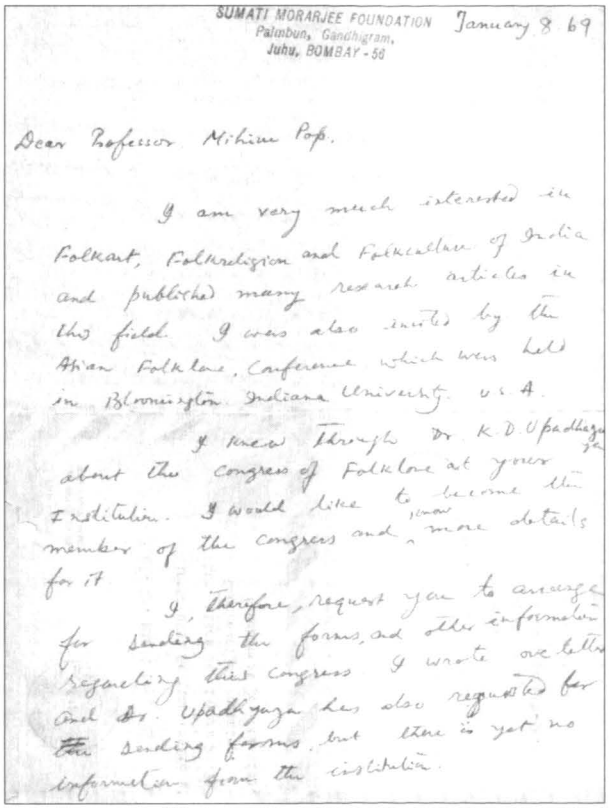

SUMATI MORARJEE FOUNDATION
Palmbun, Gandhigram,
Juhu, BOMBAY - 56

January 8 69

Dear Professor Mihiem Pop.

I am very much interested in Folkart, Folkreligion and Folkcullure of India and published many research articles in this field. I was also invited by the Asian Folklore Conference which was held in Bloomington Indiana University U.S.A.

I came through Dr. K.D. Upadhyaya about the congress of Folklore at your Institution. I would like to become the member of the congress and more details for it.

I, therefore, request you to arrange for sending the forms and other information regarding this congress. I wrote one letter and Dr. Upadhyaya has also requested for sending forms but there is yet no information from the institution.

I would like to pay membership fee $10=00 and I am very much happy to read Paper on "Legend Depicting an Indian early Architect" at the congress in Bucharest.

I had a training in Folklore and now I am a Professor of Folklore at M.S. University, Baroda.

With kind regards

Yours Sincerely
A. J. Patel

62a. As if his letters would not go through and got no answer, Patel repeats his selfintroduction and contact reference (doc 59).

62b. Reverse of the above envelope-letter.

BY AIR MAIL
PAR AVION
हवाई डाक द्वारा
AEROGRAMME

Prof. Dr. Mihai Pop,
Institutul de Ethnografie si Folclor,
Str. Nikos Beloiannis Nr.25
Bucuresti36, Rumanien.
(Bucharest 36, Romania).

SECOND FOLD
NO ENCLOSURES ALLOWED

SENDER'S NAME AND ADDRESS:
Prof. Ambalal Patel, M.A.,
PalmBun,
Gandhigram,
Juhu, BOMBAY-54.
INDIA

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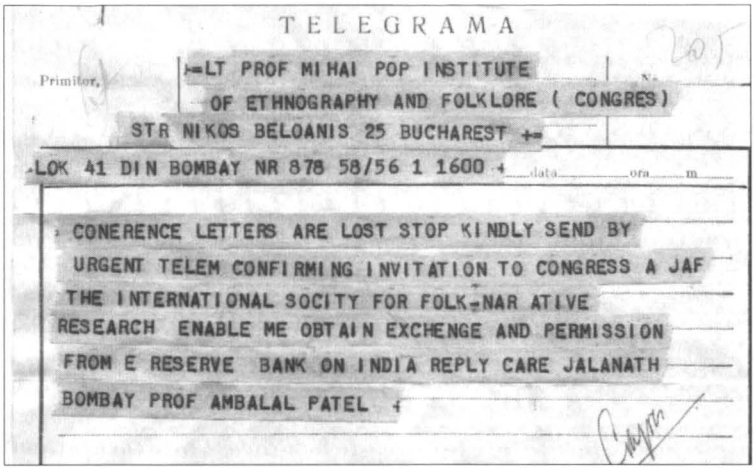


TELEGRAMA

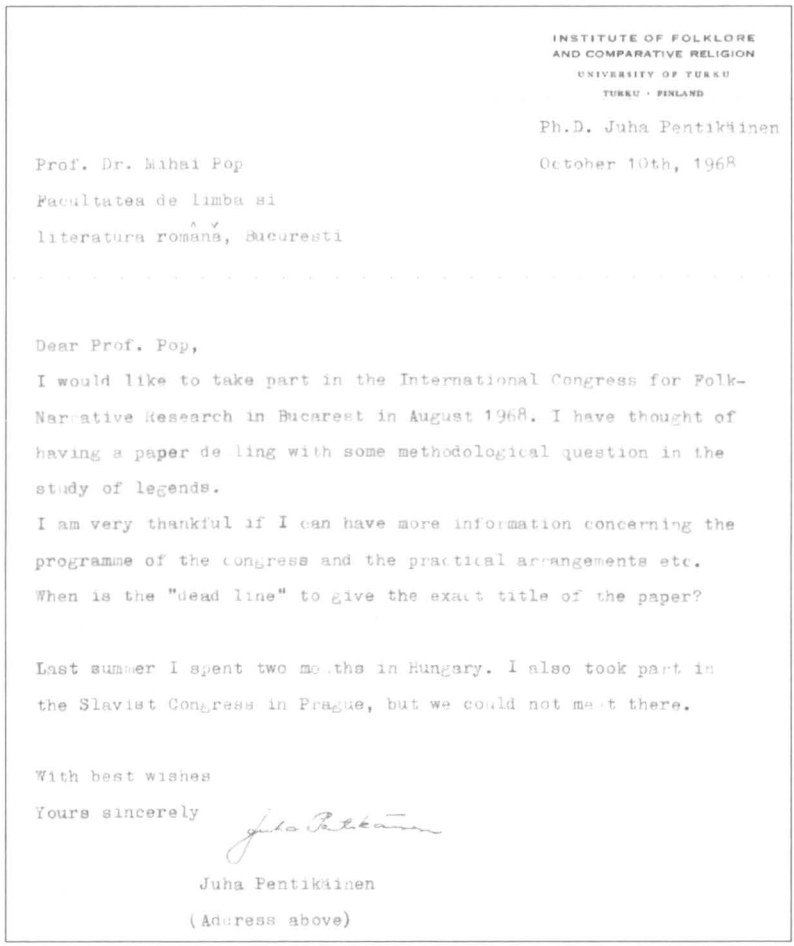
Primitor,

+=LT PROF MIHAI POP INSTITUTE
OF ETHNOGRAPHY AND FOLKLORE (CONGRES)
STR NIKOS BELOANIS 25 BUCHAREST +=

LOK 41 DIN BOMBAY NR 878 58/56 1 1600 + data ora m

CONERENCE LETTERS ARE LOST STOP KINDLY SEND BY
URGENT TELEM CONFIRMING INVITATION TO CONGRESS A JAF
THE INTERNATIONAL SOCITY FOR FOLK-NAR ATIVE
RESEARCH ENABLE ME OBTAIN EXCHENGE AND PERMISSION
FROM E RESERVE BANK ON INDIA REPLY CARE JALANATH
BOMBAY PROF AMBALAL PATEL +

63. As it takes much longer time for mail to travel to/from the East (and sometimes gets lost), surmounting obstacles requires exemplary persistence.



INSTITUTE OF FOLKLORE
AND COMPARATIVE RELIGION
UNIVERSITY OF TURKU
TURKU · FINLAND

Ph.D. Juha Pentikäinen

October 10th, 1968

Prof. Dr. Mihai Pop
Facultatea de limba si
literatura română, Bucuresti

Dear Prof. Pop,

I would like to take part in the International Congress for Folk-Narrative Research in Bucarest in August 1968. I have thought of having a paper dealing with some methodological question in the study of legends.

I am very thankful if I can have more information concerning the programme of the congress and the practical arrangements etc. When is the "dead line" to give the exact title of the paper?

Last summer I spent two months in Hungary. I also took part in the Slavist Congress in Prague, but we could not meet there.

With best wishes
Yours sincerely

Juha Pentikäinen

Juha Pentikäinen
(Address above)

64. Juha Pentikäinen's Congress text and photos can be seen in REF/JEF 1-2/ 2021: 248-253, 221, 224.

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INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR FOLK-NARRATIVE RESEARCH
Präsident: Prof. Dr. Kurt Ranke

34 GÖTTINGEN, den 14. 3. 68
Merkelstraße 3

Liste des Vorstandes und wissenschaftlicher Beirat

Präsident: Prof. Dr. Kurt Ranke, Göttingen

Sekretär: Dr. Fritz Harkort, Göttingen
Schatzmeister: Dr. Jacques Simminghe, Breda
Vizepräsident: Prof. Dr. Gyula Ortutay, Budapest
Prof. Dr. Wayland D. Hand, Los Angeles
Prof. Dr. Yolando Pino-Saavedra, Santiago de Chile
Dozent Dr. Dov Noy, Jerusalem
Prof. Dr. Hiroko Ikeda, Honolulu
Prof. Dr. Katherine Luomala, Honolulu

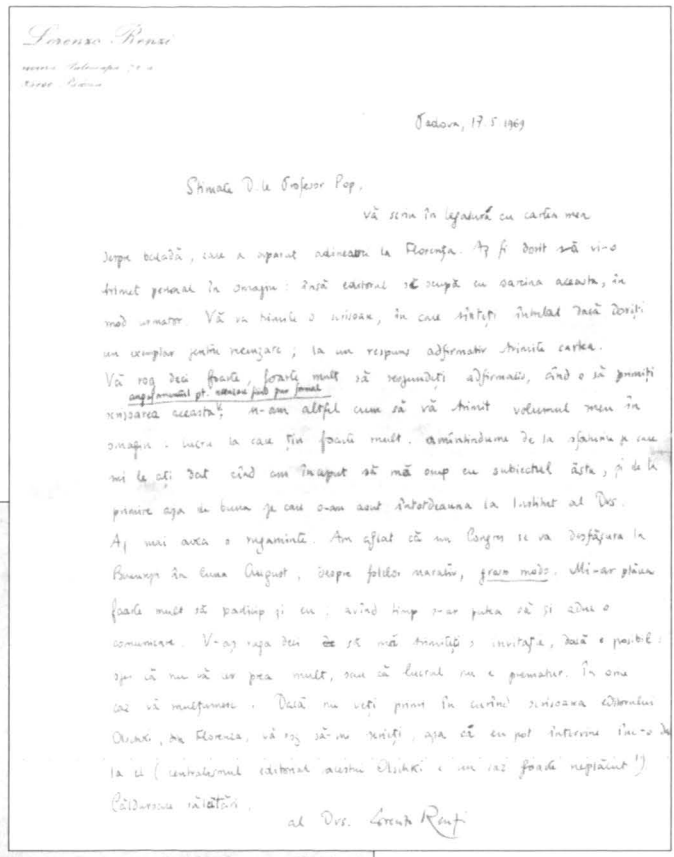
Wissenschaftlicher Beirat:
Prof. Dr. Karel C. Peeters, Antwerpen
Dr. C. H. Tillhagen, Stockholm
Prof. Dr. Richard M. Dorson, Bloomington
Prof. Dr. Mihai Pop, Bukarest
Dr. Max Lüthi, Zürich
Dr. Linda Dégh, Bloomington
Dr. Jaromir Jech, Prag
Prof. Dr. Lauri Honko, Turku
Prof. Dr. Lutz Röhrich, Freiburg
Dr. Séan Ó'Súilleabháin, Dublin

65. The few kept letters (out of numerous) sent by Ranke to Pop are of administrative nature, with no significant academic points. This list is the only document suggesting something about the theoretical & human management plan conceived by the ISFNR President (not once people writing in their letters "Ranke's ISFNR"). From the 1st board set by Ranke, vice-presidents G. Ortutay, H. Ikeda and Y. Pino-Savedra were surely absent, F. Harkort perhaps also absent; from the 2nd (advisory council), L. Dégh and S. O'Súilleabháin did not make it to Bucharest.

Iconographic interlude: Kurt Ranke (ISFNR president) and Karel C. Peeters (SIEF president), managing the interests of both institutions they headed, during the Bucharest congress of August 1969 (Archive of the "C. Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore, FL 1918/26/44472). Part of a leading-group photo set introduced in REF/JEF 1-2/2023: 270.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

66. Lorenzo Renzi teaches Romanian in his Padovan university, and expresses his gratitude for Pop advised and guided him minutely with his interest in Romanian balladry. His book on that subject has come out recently, and asks Pop to write to the publisher Olschki, from Florence, for a review copy. He mentions many beneficial visits to the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore in Bucharest.



Lorenzo Renzi

Padova, 17.5.1969

Stimate D.le Profesor Pop,

vă scriu în legătură cu cartea mea despre baladă, care a apărut adineaori la Firenze. Aș fi dorit să vi-o trimit personal la Sinaia: dacă editorul se ocupă cu cartea aceasta, în mod urmator. Vă va trimite o scrisoare, în care sînteți rugat dacă doriți un exemplar pentru recenzare; la un răspuns afirmativ, librăria carte. Vă rog deci frumos, foarte mult să răspundeți afirmativ, cînd o să primiți scrisoarea aceasta, m-am alegă cum să vă trimit volumul meu în Sinaia. Iacră la care țin foarte mult, amănîndouă de la sfîrșitul p. cînd mi le ați dat cînd am început să mă ocup cu subiectul acesta, și de la primire aș în bună și care am avut îndrumarea la Institut al Dvs. Aș mai avea o rugăminte. Am aflat că un Congres se va desfășura la Bucureș în luna August, despre folclor narativ, foarte mult. Mi-ar plăcea foarte mult să particip și eu; avînd timp s-ar putea să și țin o comunicare. V-aș ruga deci să mă trimiteți o invitație, dacă e posibil și să mă anunțați cît mai curînd, pentru că lucrul nu e prematur. În orice caz vă mulțumesc. Dacă nu veți putea în curînd scrisoarea editurii Olschki, de Florența, vă rog să-mi scrieți, așa că eu pot interveni încă de la ei (contractul editorial acestui Olschki e mai vechi fără negreșit!)

Cu deosebită stimă,

al Dvs. Lorenzo Renzi

Mr. Lorenzo Renzi
riviera Paleocapa 72/a
35100 PADOVA

Stimate Domnule Renzi,

M-am bucurat mult să aflu că lucrarea Dumitale a apărut. Eecurile pe care le-ai avut pînă acum în legătură cu ea sînt dintre cele mai bune și te rog deci să-mi permiți să te felicit cu anticipație. Din ceea ce am aflat mi-am făcut convingerea că e o contribuție importantă asupra baladei românești, făcută de pe o poziție teoretică și metodologică moderna. Îți închipui deci cu cîtă nerăbdare o aștept.

Îți mulțumesc pentru posibilitatea de a avea un exemplar de recenzat direct prin editură. Nu va fi numai un exemplar de politeță ci îl voi recenza fără îndoială probabil în Studiile de folclor de la Timișoara care încep acum să apară periodic.

Trimit deci chiar astăzi editurii Olschi formularul ce mi-ai remis.

Sper că pînă la primirea scrisorii mele va fi sosit invitația la Congresul Societății Internaționale a cercetătorilor naraținnilor populare la care te așteptăm, cu știi mai mult cu cît promiți și un referat al cărui interes este incontestabil. Te rog deci să faci un formular și să-l trimiți cu toate formele de înscriere și să te consideri la București ca acasă.

Cu cele mai bune sentimente,

Prof. Mihai Pop

67. Very happy and supportive to Renzi's book, already having received good echoes about it, Pop promises to request the copy from the publisher that very day and to review it in the annual *Studii de folclor* (now regularly coming out in Timișoara). Invite for joining the ISFNR is repeated. Pop's entire text is very warm ("consider Bucharest as your home"). On the covered corner: "3 June 1969".

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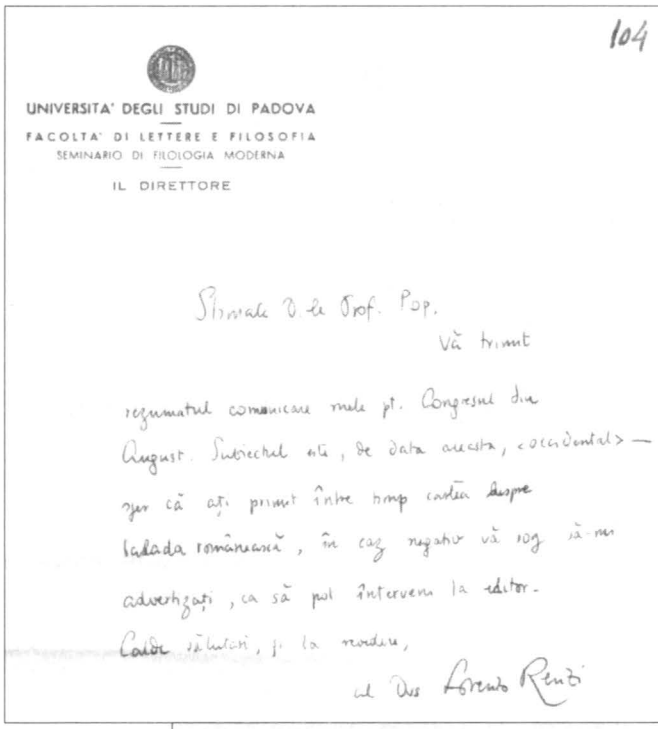

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UNIVERSITA' DEGLI STUDI DI PADOVA
FACOLTA' DI LETTERE E FILOSOFIA
SEMINARIO DI FILOLOGIA MODERNA

IL DIRETTORE

Stimate D-le Prof. Pop,

Vă trimit

rezumatul comunicare mele pt. Congresul din
August. Subiectul ată, de data aceasta, «occidental» —
zur că ați primit între timp cartea despre
balada românească, în caz negativ vă rog să-mi
advertizați, ca să pot interveni la editor.

Cordiale salutări, și la revedere,

al Dvs Lorenzo Renzi

68. Renzi promises an abstract *this time on a "western" subject* and asks whether his book has landed yet. By faded pencil note Pop instructs his handyman, Congress secretary Amzulescu that Renzi to be demanded his abstract and books be reserved for him. Though signed by Pop, the next letter has formal/neutral tone (requesting compliance with formalities).

reşti, 27 iunie

Dl. Lorenzo Renzi
Riviera Paleocapa 72 a
PADOVA

Stimate Domnule Renzi,

Am primit scrisoarea dvs prin care anunţaţi trimiterea rezumatului comunicării ce veţi ţine la Congresul ISFNR. Pînă acuma însă nu am primit nici comunicarea şi nici buletinul de rezervare al camerei. Vă rugăm a vă conforma acestor formalităţi, fără de care nu garantăm că veţi putea fi cazat.

Confirmăm primirea cărţii Dvs despre balade româneasc şi vă mulţumim.

Prof. Mihai Pop

69. Renzi's book, however, had arrived.

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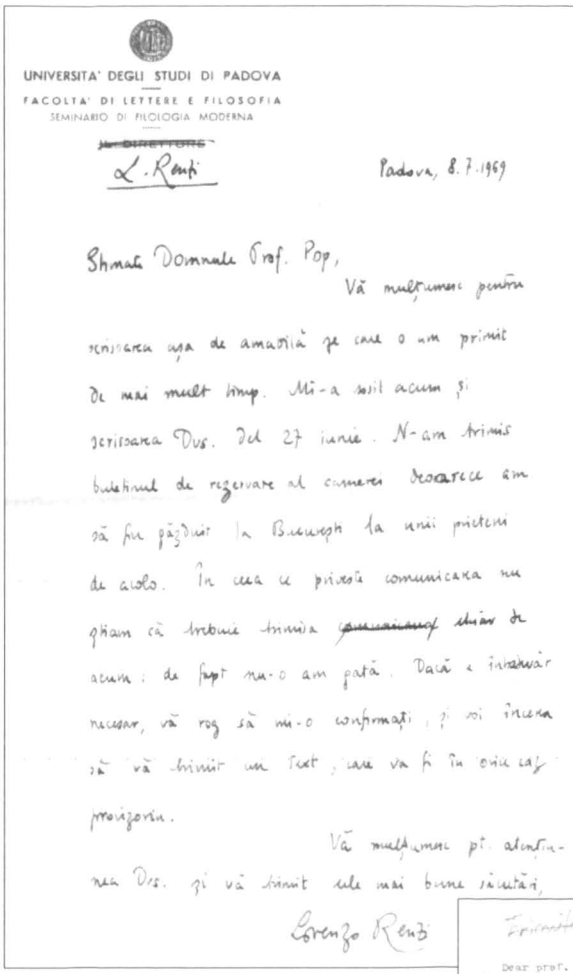


UNIVERSITA' DEGLI STUDI DI PADOVA
FACOLTA' DI LETTERE E FILOSOFIA
SEMINARIO DI FILOLOGIA MODERNA

~~IL DIRETTORE~~
L. Renzi

Padova, 8.7.1969

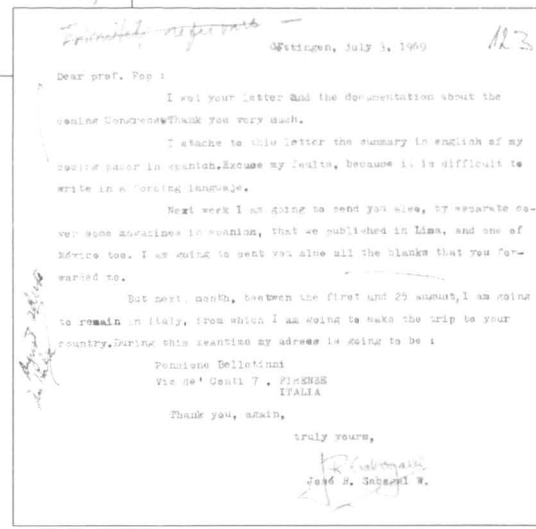
Stimate Domnule Prof. Pop,

Vă mulțumesc pentru scrisoarea așa de amabilă pe care o am primit de mai mult timp. Mi-a sosit acum și scrisoarea Dvs. del 27 iunie. N-am trimis buletinul de rezervare al camerei deoarece am să fiu găzduit la București la unii prieteni de aiolo. În cea ce privește comunicarea mea știam că trebuie trimis ~~[illegible]~~ chiar de acum: de fapt nu-o am gata. Dacă e totuși necesar, vă rog să mi-o confirmați, și voi încerca să vă trimit un text, care va fi în orice caz provizoriu.

Vă mulțumesc pt. atenționarea Dvs. și vă trimit cele mai bune salutări,

Lorenzo Renzi

70. The Italian colleague understands just now that he was asked to provide the entire paper to be presented in the Congress (confusion between abstracts and full texts will sometimes occur). He asks again for a confirmation and promises he will make a provisional text.



~~Formidable refus pour Pop~~

Göttingen, July 3, 1969

Dear prof. Pop :

I got your letter and the documentation about the coming Congress. Thank you very much.

I attache to this letter the summary in english of my coming paper in spanish. Excuse my faults, because it is difficult to write in a foreign language.

Next week I am going to send you also, by separate cover some magazines in spanish, that we published in Lima, and one of Mexico too. I am going to sent you also all the blanks that you forwarded to.

But next month, between the first and 25 august, I am going to remain in Italy, from which I am going to make the trip to your country. During this meantime my adress is going to be :

Pensione Bellettini
Via de' Conti 7 . FIRENZE
ITALIA

Thank you, again,

truly yours,

José H. Sabogal W.

71. Initially, the letter of the Peruvian colleague (studying and taking his PhD in Poland, now writing from Germany and going to come to Bucharest after a sojourn in Florence) was condemned. Pop wrote by pencil "send him refusal", then cut it by horizontal line. Though it was only one month before the Congress, it still was possible J.R. Sabogal Wiesse to be inserted in the printed Program and participants' list.

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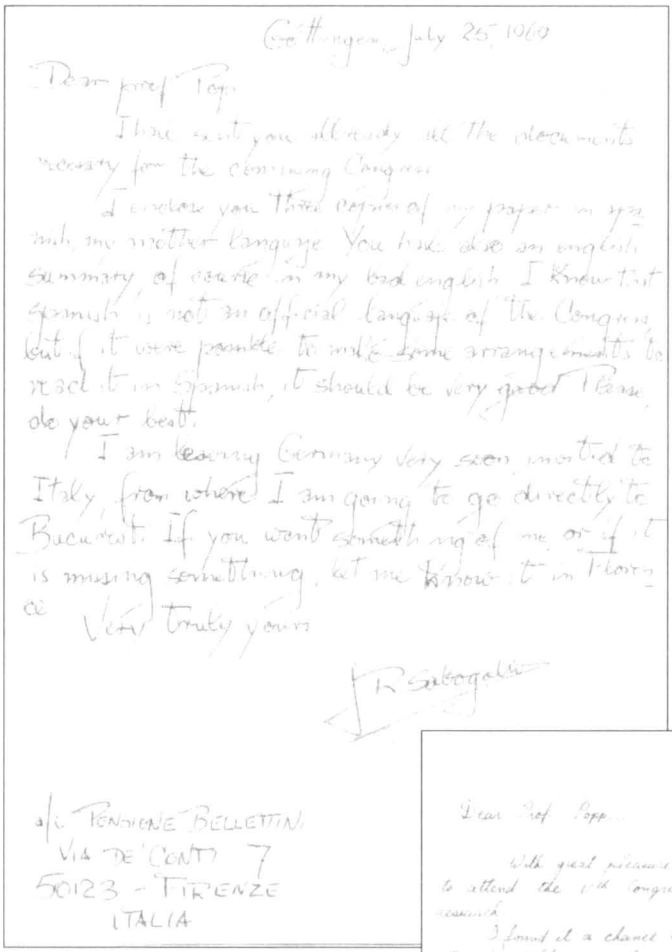


Göttingen July 25 1969

Dear prof Pop

I have sent you already all the documents necessary for the coming Congress

I enclose you three copies of my paper in spanish, the official language of the Congress, but if it were possible to make some arrangements to read it in Spanish, it should be very good. I have do your best.

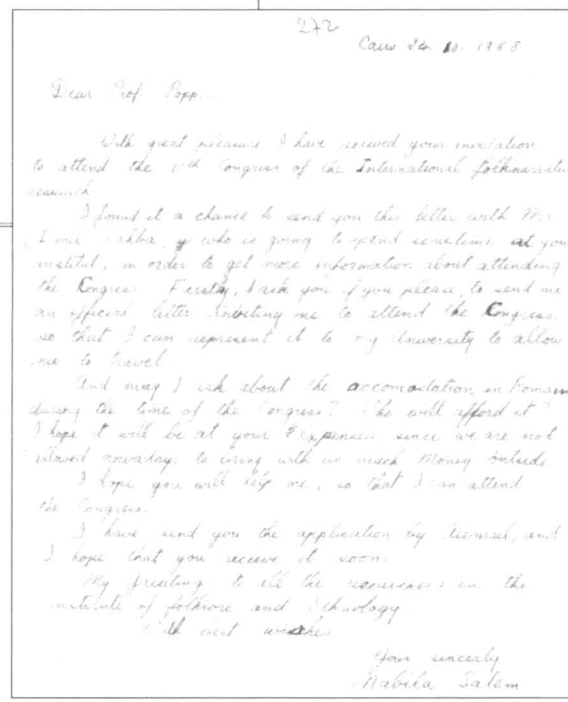
I am leaving Germany very soon, invited to Italy, from where I am going to go directly to Bucarest. If you want something of me or if it is missing something, let me know it in Florence

Very truly yours

R Sabogal

s/c PENSIONE BELLETTINI
VIA DE' CONTI 7
50123 - FIRENZE
ITALIA

72. Sabogal Wiesse provides abstract in English and full paper in Spanish, and asks to be permitted to present (with excuse) in Spanish. Though we cannot reconstruct from pictures (sic!) whether he did spoke in Spanish, Sabogal left behind a very honorable text in English (published, + photos, in REF/JEF 1-2/ 2022: 240-244, 196).



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Cairo 26 II 1968

Dear Prof Pop

With great pleasure I have received your invitation to attend the 11th Congress of the International folkloristic research.

I found it a chance to send you this letter with Mrs Imil Wahba who is going to spend sometime at your institut, in order to get more information about attending the Congress. Firstly, I ask you if you please, to send me an official letter inviting me to attend the Congress, so that I can represent it to my University to allow me to travel.

And may I ask about the accomodation in Romania during the time of the Congress? She will afford it? I hope it will be at your expenses since we are not allowed nowadays to bring with us much Money outside.

I hope you will help me, so that I can attend the Congress.

I have send you the application by Unesco, and I hope that you receive it soon.

My greeting to all the workers in the institute of folklore and Ethnology

With best wishes

Yours sincerly
Nabila Salem

73. In mid 1960s the Institute run by Pop had an intense collaboration with Cairo (organizing a folklore archive over there, fieldworks, expert exchanges). Nabila Salem (presented in the Congress list of participants as Dr. Dozentin) sends this letter through Imil Wahba, a long-staying visiting scholar in Bucharest, and will submit her Congress application by airmail.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

74. Repeating the above mentioned eagerness, requests, and worries: a formal invitation addressed to her University, and be accommodated by local courtesy.

28 S

Cairo 25. 10 1968

Dear Prof. Pop.

With great pleasure I have received your invitation to attend the V^th Congress of the International Folkmarrative society. I have send you a letter, which I have written it too quickly with Mr Nabla who is going to spend a long time at your institute. I have asked in this letter about the accomodation in ~~Rom~~ Romania during my the Congress, who can undertake it? Perhaps it is a stupid question, but I am very keen to attend the Congress, and at the same time I am not allowed to take with me enough money outside my country.

I am also asking if you can send me an official invitation to present it to my Univ. in order I will get the allowance to travel without this official paper. I cannot prove it.

I thank you very much and hope to see you in Rumania.

Yours Sincerely
Nabila Salem

Mrs Nabila Salem
3 Farid Wagdu Str.
Maniel-el-Rouda
C A I R O

Dear Mrs Salem

I am so very glad that you intend to attend the V^th Congress of the I.S.F.N.R. It will be a pleasure to meet you again. I have not yet got your application form but am sure thht it will be in the next post. Do you intend to read a paper?

About the further details you asked for, I can assure you that you'll find all the opportunities for accomodation. The second circular, which will be sent after all the answers are here, will give you ample information about rooms accomodation, their price a.s.o.

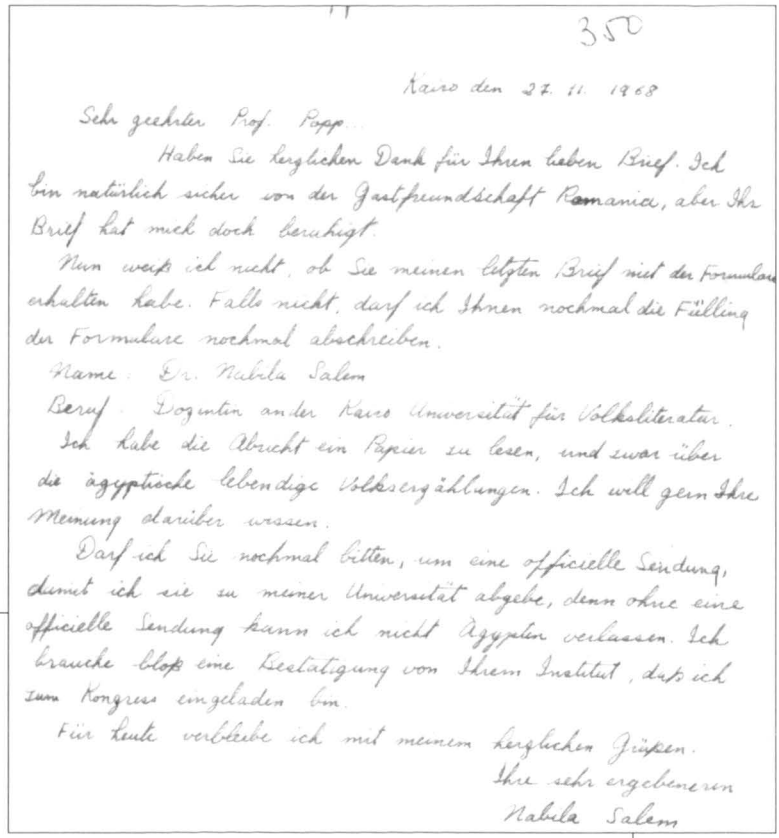
We will try to do our best but I cannot promise to be in a position to take the expenses of your stay here. I am sure that you will manage and be able to come to Bucharest next year.

Sincerely yours,

Prof. Mihai Pop

75. On 28 Oct. 1968, Pop is enthusiastic at her desire to come (they had already spent time together at his Bucharestan institute), encourages her (empty hopes), advise on waiting for the second bunch of infos, and is diplomatic in terms of financial help.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro



350

Kairo den 27. 11. 1968

Sehr geehrter Prof. Popp.

Haben Sie herzlichen Dank für Ihren lieben Brief. Ich bin natürlich sicher von der Gastfreundschaft Romanica, aber Ihr Brief hat mich doch beruhigt.

Nun weiss ich nicht, ob Sie meinen letzten Brief mit den Formulare erhalten habe. Falls nicht, darf ich Ihnen nochmal die Füllung der Formulare nochmal abschreiben.

Name: Dr. Nabila Salem

Beruf: Dozentin an der Kairo Universität für Volksliteratur.

Ich habe die Absicht ein Papier zu lesen, und zwar über die ägyptische lebendige Volkserzählungen. Ich will gern Ihre Meinung darüber wissen.

Darf ich Sie nochmal bitten, um eine officielle Sendung, damit ich sie zu meiner Universität abgebe, denn ohne eine officielle Sendung kann ich nicht Ägypten verlassen. Ich brauche bloß eine Bestätigung von Ihrem Institut, daß ich zum Kongress eingeladen bin.

Für heute verbleibe ich mit meinem herzlichen Grüßen.

Ihre sehr ergebenen

Nabila Salem

76. Exactly the same pushing needs and worries, this time with managerial details and in German.

Dr. Nabila Salem
3 Farid Wagdi str.
Maniel-el-Rhonda
CAIRO

Sehr geehrte Frau Dr. Salem,

Wir haben Ihr Einschreibungsformular für der Teilnahme an der V. Kongress der International Society for Folk Narrative Research Bukarest 26-31 August 1969 erhalten und teilen Ihnen mit, dass der Organisationskomitee Ihrer Bericht:" Die Ägyptische Volkserzählungen" angenommen hat.

Wir werden Ihnen rechtzeitig melden in welcher Termin wir der Resumé Ihres Berichts in Bukarest haben wollen.

Hochachtungsvoll,

Prof.Dr.Mihai Pop

77. This time ("9. Dezember 1968") the Organizing Committee (namely Amzulescu, signed by Pop) provides a very formal and distant text.

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES

BERKELEY • DAVIS • IRVINE • LOS ANGELES • RIVERSIDE • SAN DIEGO • SAN FRANCISCO SANTA BARBARA • SANTA CRUZ

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF
COMPARATIVE FOLKLORE AND MYTHOLOGY
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90024

August 16, 1968

Dr. Mihai Pop,
Institutul de Folclor,
Str. Nikos Beloiannis 25,
Bucharest 36, Rumania.

Dear Dr. Pop:

Several weeks ago I wrote to Prof. Kurt Ranke inquiring concerning the forthcoming meeting of the International Society for Folk Narrative Research in Bucharest in 1969. He has suggested that I write directly to you. I am a professor of Spanish in the University of California, Los Angeles, where I work in close collaboration with the Center for the Study of Comparative Folklore and Mythology and its director, Dr. Wayland D. Hand. In recent years I have devoted much of my research activity to the preparation of collections of narratives from Mexico, with comparative notes and background material. Prof. Hand feels that a paper reporting on my activities would be of interest to the members of the Society at the Bucharest meeting. I should be happy to prepare a paper along these lines.

So that you may have an idea of my research in the folk narrative, I shall describe briefly my recent activities. During the past year I have completed the editing of a collection of 218 narratives from the Mexican state of Jalisco. Of these, 146 are folktales and the remainder are legends. I have classified them on the basis of Aarne-Thompson, The Types of the Folktale, & Thompson's motif index. I have submitted the manuscript to the University of California Press. I have also prepared a collection of 72 narratives from the Mexican state of Veracruz. These texts are all based on recordings that I made in the field in Mexico, either on discs or magnetic tape, and I have transcribed them with utmost care in order to have reliable texts for study.

In order to have available comparative notes for the items in these collections, I have prepared a detailed bibliography of the folk narrative in Mexico. On the basis of the bibliography, I have begun the preparation of a tale-type index for the folktales of Mexico, the Hispanic southwest of the United States, and probably Central America. There is abundant material available but most of it is widely scattered. While editing my narrative material I have become aware of the need for such a research tool. I hope to complete the index with the inclusion of my narratives from Jalisco and Veracruz.

Last year I received an inquiry from Prof. Francis Lee Utley concerning my interest in becoming a member of the International Society for Folk Narrative Research. I feel honored to have been proposed for membership. I have forwarded to him my curriculum vitae and an account of my research interests and activities.

I shall be interested in your reactions to my research projects and to the possibility of reporting upon them at the meeting at Bucharest. Until then, I remain,

Sincerely,
Stanley L. Robe
Stanley L. Robe,
Professor of Spanish.

78. As seen here, Wayland D. Hand and Frances L. Utley are instrumental in directing prof. Stanley Linn Robe towards Mihai Pop, the ISFNR and K. Ranke; and the academic selfintroduction provided is rich and impressive/exemplary. Robe's paper and photo (recognized/confirmed by his daughter, Margaret Summitt, in 2020) are to be seen in REF/JEF 1-2/2018: 327-334 and 1-2/2026.

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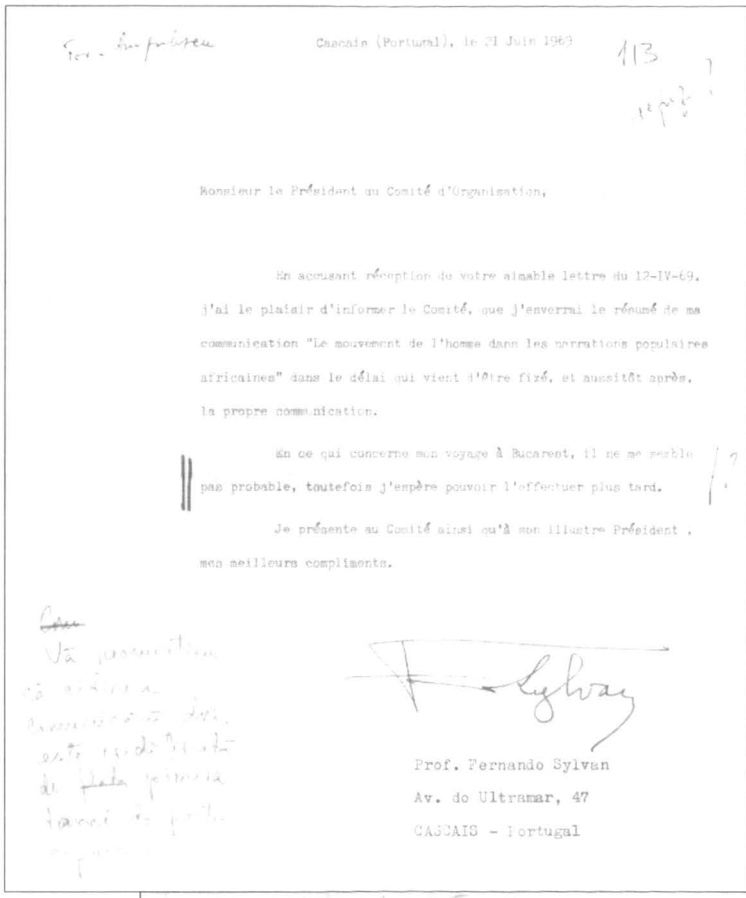


Cascais (Portugal), le 21 Juin 1969

Monsieur le Président du Comité d'Organisation,

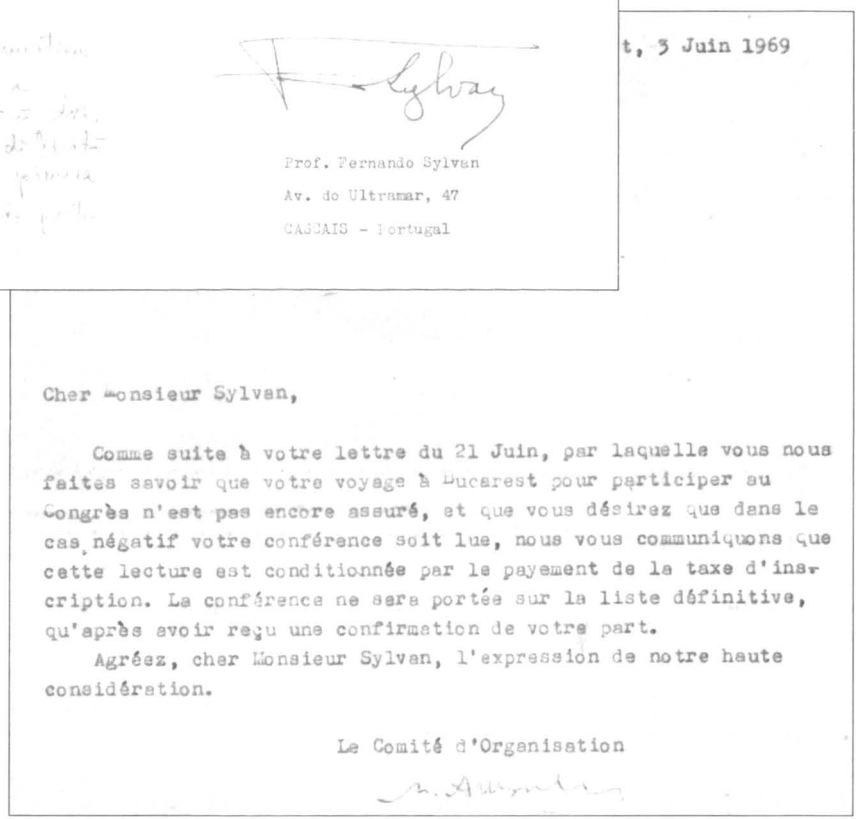
En accusant réception de votre aimable lettre du 12-IV-69, j'ai le plaisir d'informer le Comité, que j'enverrai le résumé de ma communication "Le mouvement de l'homme dans les narrations populaires africaines" dans le délai qui vient d'être fixé, et aussitôt après, la propre communication.

En ce qui concerne mon voyage à Bucarest, il ne me semble pas probable, toutefois j'espère pouvoir l'effectuer plus tard.

Je présente au Comité ainsi qu'à son illustre Président, mon meilleurs compliments.

Prof. Fernando Sylvan
Av. do Ultramar, 47
CASCAIS - Portugal

79. F. Sylvan is unclear/ambiguous. Pop's holograph notes go down with positive, pragmatic crescendo: "Comrade Amzulescu/ refusal?/ We remind you that the reading of your paper is conditioned by the receiving of the participation fee". Thus, a warning letter signed Amzulescu will be sent soon.



t, 3 Juin 1969

Cher Monsieur Sylvan,

Comme suite à votre lettre du 21 Juin, par laquelle vous nous faites savoir que votre voyage à Bucarest pour participer au Congrès n'est pas encore assuré, et que vous désirez que dans le cas négatif votre conférence soit lue, nous vous communiquons que cette lecture est conditionnée par le payement de la taxe d'inscription. La conférence ne sera portée sur la liste définitive, qu'après avoir reçu une confirmation de votre part.

Agréez, cher Monsieur Sylvan, l'expression de notre haute considération.

Le Comité d'Organisation

80. Both firm and polite (probably of a dating mistake, rather 30 Juin or 3 Juillet).

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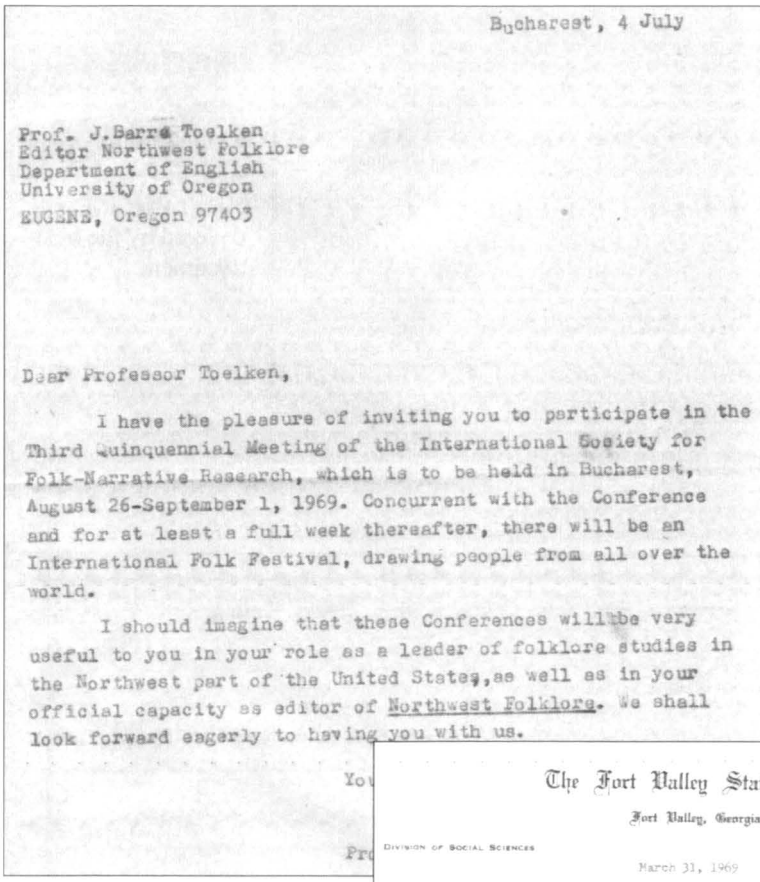


Bucharest, 4 July

Prof. J.Barre Toelken
Editor Northwest Folklore
Department of English
University of Oregon
EUGENE, Oregon 97403

Dear Professor Toelken,

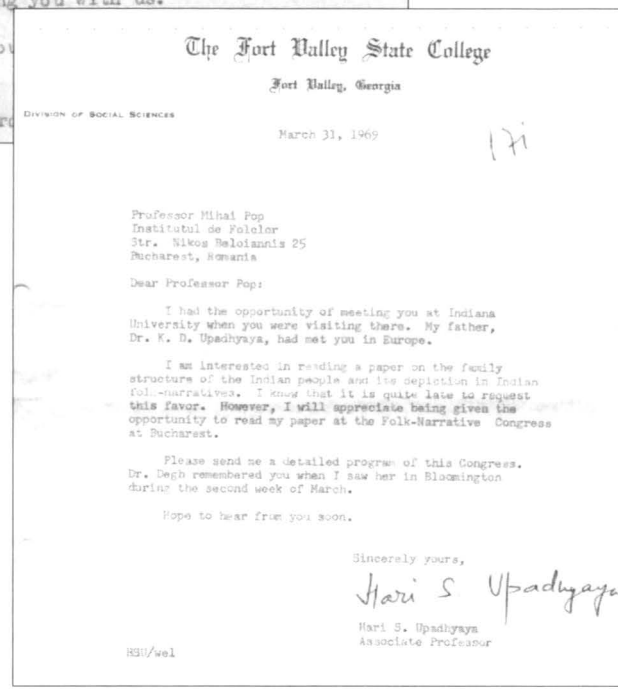
I have the pleasure of inviting you to participate in the Third Quinquennial Meeting of the International Society for Folk-Narrative Research, which is to be held in Bucharest, August 26-September 1, 1969. Concurrent with the Conference and for at least a full week thereafter, there will be an International Folk Festival, drawing people from all over the world.

I should imagine that these Conferences will be very useful to you in your role as a leader of folklore studies in the Northwest part of the United States, as well as in your official capacity as editor of Northwest Folklore. We shall look forward eagerly to having you with us.

Yo

Pr

81. Recommended by W.D. Hand, his colleague Toelken is invited, and some photos will capture his presence in Bucharest (REF/JEF 1-2/ 2021: 224). The next doc covers the ending "yours sincerely" + holograph signature of Amzulescu, and the "Prof. Dr. Mihai Pop" typing.



The Fort Valley State College

Fort Valley, Georgia

DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

March 31, 1969

171

Professor Mihai Pop
Institutul de Folclor
Str. Nikos Beloiannis 25
Bucharest, Romania

Dear Professor Pop:

I had the opportunity of meeting you at Indiana University when you were visiting there. My father, Dr. K. D. Upadhyaya, had met you in Europe.

I am interested in reading a paper on the family structure of the Indian people and its depiction in Indian folk-narratives. I know that it is quite late to request this favor. However, I will appreciate being given the opportunity to read my paper at the Folk-Narrative Congress at Bucharest.

Please send me a detailed program of this Congress. Dr. Dégh remembered you when I saw her in Bloomington during the second week of March.

Hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Hari S Upadhyaya

Hari S. Upadhyaya
Associate Professor

HSU/wel

82. The junior Upadhyaya mentions having met Pop in Bloomington, his father meeting Pop in Europe, Linda Dégh remembering Pop to Upadhyaya in March, that very year, when he met her in Bloomington. With such mapping points, mutual trust should be spontaneously installed.

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Kindly also inform me the exact date of holding the session. I wish to read a paper on Indian folk-tales in that Congress. So please let me know the date by which the summary of the paper may be sent to you.

As the time at our disposal is very short, so I request you to send membership forms and other papers to my friend and to me at an early date. Hoping to be favoured with an immediate reply, with best regards and good wishes.

Yours sincerely
K. D. Upadhyay

Gyanpur (Varanasi)
5/12/68

Dear Prof. Pop,

I am very much thankful to you for sending to me the invitation for attending the International Congress of Folk-narrative Research to be held in August 1969 in Bucharest. I have already sent to your office the printed form duly filled in mentioning the subject of my paper which I wish to read in the Congress. I have to send $10 (Ten dollars) as the membership fee for the Congress. Kindly let me know the Bank to which this amount may be remitted.

A friend of mine also wishes to participate in the Congress. He has not received the invitation as yet. So, kindly ask your office to send the invitation letter to him at an very early date to the following address:—

Prof. Amba Lal Patel
Palm Bun,
Gandhigram,
Juhu, Bombay-56.

Would you please let me know the date by which the summary of the

P.T.O.

85b. The reverse & end of the upper letter has M. Pop's address, the postal seals and stamp, and the typical Indian symbols covered by the next doc.

86a. With forms and payment sent or just ready, the Indian professor insists his friend Patel to be invited.

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papers have to be sent to the Office of the congress? Also inform me the arrangements which are being made to accomodate the delegates during the sessions of the Congress. I request you to favour me with an early reply.

With best regards and good wishes.

Yours sincerely

K. D. Upadhyaya

86b. Reverse and end of the above doc (just the sender's postal addresses in Gyanpur/ Varanasi is covered by the following letter).

1 Upper Redlands Road,
Reading.
16 August 1969

Dear Mr Pop,

Much to my regret I shall not be able to attend the Folklore Congress in Bucharest this summer. Work has been delayed in a research programme in which I am collaborating and I cannot leave while it is not finished. Please accept my apologies.

I sent the congress fee from Ghana, and hope eventually to receive the Proceedings. I was unable to pay for accomodation because of exchange restrictions, so there are no further financial complications.

My paper is completed but not yet copied. If I am able to get it copied before too late I will send it to you for inclusion in the Proceedings.

It is a great disappointment to me that I am not able to be with you and I send my best wishes for the success of the congress.

Yours sincerely

Jean N. Ure

Jean N. Ure.

87. Jean Neville Ure sends her participation or membership fee from Legon/Ghana though she announces will not make to Bucharest, though expecting to be send the Proceeding volume. In the Program she is announced to present a paper on a "linguistic test applied to Alecsandri's *Poezia Poporală*" (a Romanian theme). Yet, I found no paper of her submitted/ sent for the Proceedings/ ulterior publication.

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88. Utley–Pop correspondence (to the humble extension this was preserved in the Congress archival box) is one of the most generous. Utley is very meticulous, and pay faultless attention into fulfilling his responsibilities for the ISFNR leading committees.

89. Together with lists of ISFNR aspiring members, Utley also provides the letters of recommendation, CVs and other credentials. Hence, for the time being, not just by paying a membership on arriving to meetings secured people's association with professional bodies, ISFNR was not that "democratic" as it was scorned over time (probably just the formalities of acceptance and the decision-making were in the hands of few). Here, D. Petropoulos and D. Loukatos support Maria-Alke Kiriakidou-Nestoros for ISFNR membership.

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
CENTER OF MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE STUDIES
1859 NEIL AVENUE
COLUMBUS, OHIO 43210

CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE
Francis L. Utley, Chairman
Franklin M. Loehrer
Franklin J. Pegues
Bernard C. Rasmann
Eleanor W. Belaiew
Herbert S. Livingston
John B. Gabel
Joseph L. Gray
Marion Fox

August 19, 1968

Professor Mihai Pop
Institutul de Etnografie si Folclior
Str. Nikos Beloiannis, nr. 25
Bucharesti, Rumania

Dear Mihai,

Thank you very much for your letter of July 3rd. About two weeks ago, I sent out a complete list of new members to you and other officers of the Society. Numbers 1-22 have been fully accepted as members by the Commission. Numbers 23-47 have proper credentials and will probably be accepted by the Commission. I hope that, if all goes well, we shall be able to attend the Congress, August 26-30, 1969.

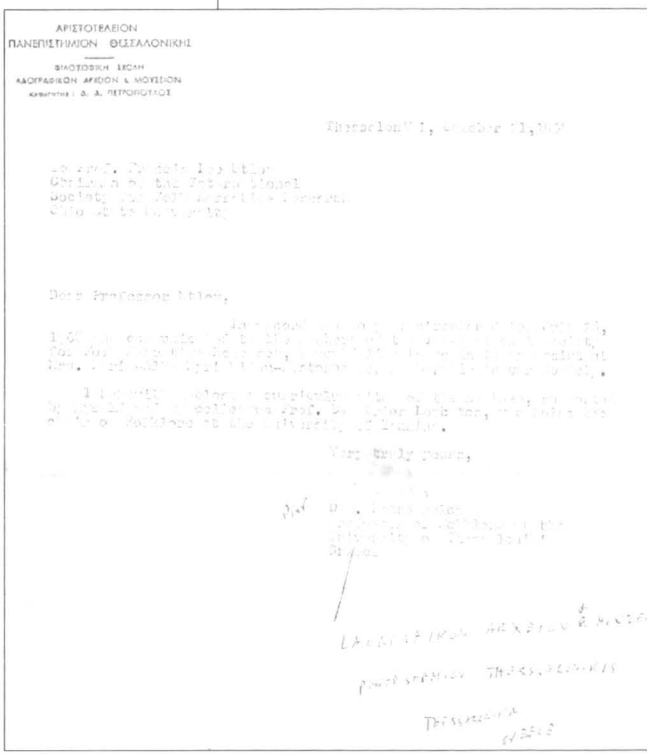
I shall try to get notice of the Congress date to some of our American folklore periodicals. I am assuming that you will send formal invitations to the members of the Society, both old and new. Is that correct?

If all goes well, Mrs. Utley will be able to come to the Congress with me.. She sends her best wishes and is joined by our daughter Jean, whom you met in Athens. Please ask, if you wish any further information. And best wishes for a successful Congress.

Cordially yours,

Francis

Francis L. Utley



ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΕΙΟΝ
ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟΝ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗΣ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ ΣΧΟΛΗΣ
ΛΑΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΩΝ ΑΡΧΕΙΩΝ & ΜΟΥΣΕΙΩΝ
ΚΑΘΗΓΗΤΗΣ Δ. Α. ΠΕΤΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ

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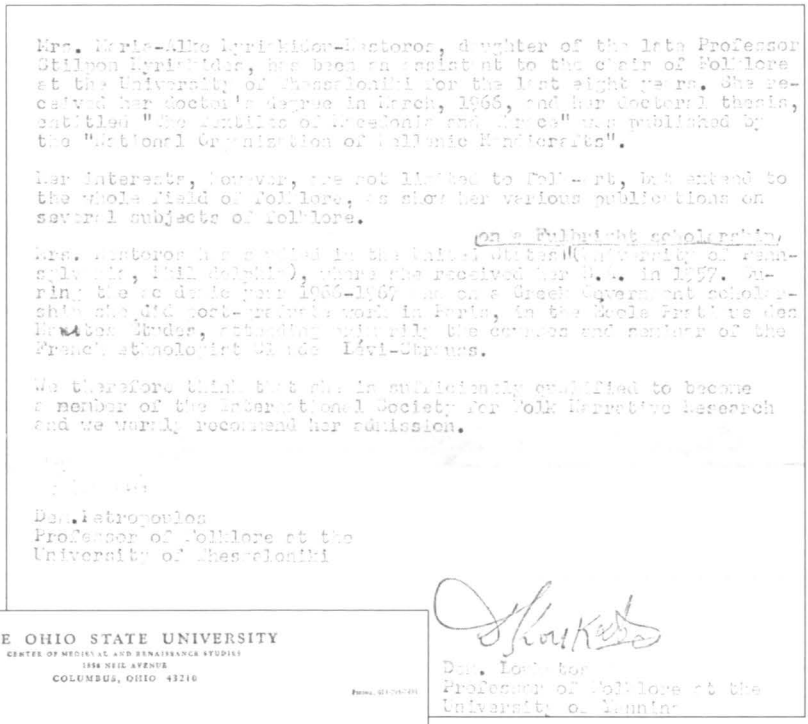
90. The Loukatos's recomendation is very strong, the above nominee having convincing merits: PhD. in folklore, advanced studies in Philadelphia, Paris (Claude Lévy-Strauss).



Mrs. Maria-Alke Lyri-Nikon-Nestoros, daughter of the late Professor Stilpon Lyri-Nikon, has been an assistant to the chair of Folklore at the University of Thessaloniki for the last eight years. She received her doctor's degree in March, 1966, and her doctoral thesis, entitled "The Customs of Kreopolis and Vlyse" was published by the "National Organization of Hellenic Universities".

Her interests, however, are not limited to Folklore, but extend to the whole field of Folklore, as show her various publications on several subjects of Folklore.

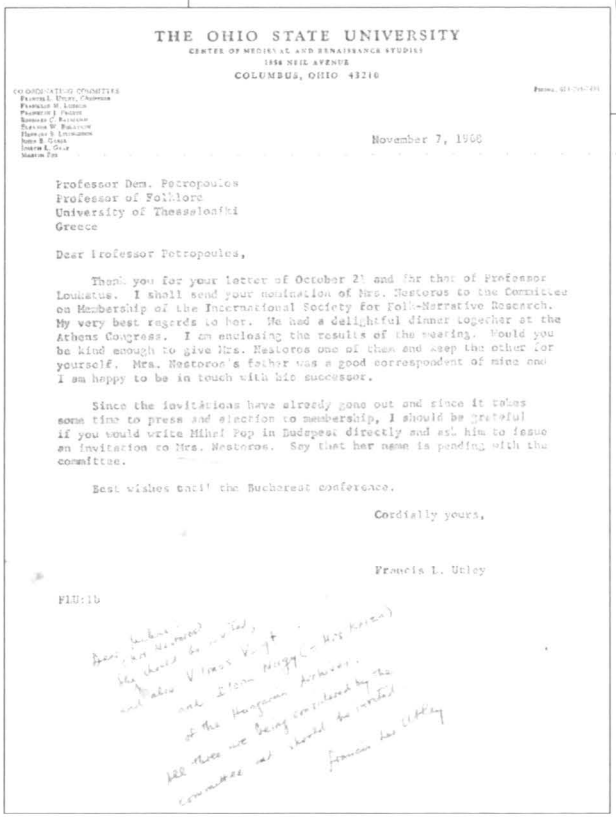
on a Fulbright scholarship

Mrs. Nestoros has studied in the United States (University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia), where she received her M.A. in 1957. During the academic years 1964-1967 she on a Greek Government scholarship also did post-graduate work in Paris, in the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, attending lectures by the famous and member of the French ethnologist Claude Lévi-Strauss.

We therefore think that she is sufficiently qualified to become a member of the International Society for Folk Narrative Research and we warmly recommend her admission.

Dem. Petropoulos
Professor of Folklore at the
University of Thessaloniki

Dem. Loukatos
Professor of Folklore at the
University of Ioannina



THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
CENTER OF MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE STUDIES
1858 NEIL AVENUE
COLUMBUS, OHIO 43210

November 7, 1968

Professor Dem. Petropoulos
Professor of Folklore
University of Thessaloniki
Greece

Dear Professor Petropoulos,

Thank you for your letter of October 21 and for that of Professor Loukatos. I shall send your nomination of Mrs. Nestoros to the Committee on Membership of the International Society for Folk-Narrative Research. My very best regards to her. We had a delightful dinner together at the Athens Congress. I am enclosing the results of the voting. Would you be kind enough to give Mrs. Nestoros one of them and keep the other for yourself. Mrs. Nestoros's father was a good correspondent of mine and I am happy to be in touch with his successor.

Since the invitations have already gone out and since it takes some time to press and election to membership, I should be grateful if you would write Mihaly Pap in Budapest directly and ask him to issue an invitation to Mrs. Nestoros. Say that her name is pending with the committee.

Best wishes until the Bucharest conference.

Cordially yours,

Francis L. Utley

FLU:lb

91. With the xerox machine revolution (not yet in East European countries), also letters are multiplied and sent to useful places/persons. The issue of pending membership applications can pass the group approvals, hence Pop is advised to send invitation and "circulars" to whomsoever may show interest or is supposed to represent a good ISFNR asset. Having a known father, a dinner together or getting a recommendation would sometimes increase the interest investment of ISFNR leading figures. Apart from the letter to Petropoulos (in favor of Nestoros), Vilmos Voigt and Ilóna Nagy-Kriza are kindly mentioned by blue pen.

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THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
CENTER FOR MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE STUDIES
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Franklin M. Ludwig
Raymond J. Pettit
Richard C. Rabkawin
Eleanor W. Belaskas
Herbert T. Livingston
John E. Grabl
Joseph L. Gray
Marvin Fox

Phone: 614 293 7495

March 3, 1969

Professor Mihai Pop
Institutul de Etnografie Si Folclor
Str. Nikos Beloiannis Nr. 25
Bucuresti, Rumania

Dear Mihai,

I enclose a letter from Kurt Ranke recommending six Estonian colleagues. It will take some time to submit their names to the Membership Committee. Meanwhile, Kurt and I are agreed that people so nominated should receive invitations to the Bucharest Congress.

I hope all plans are coming along well.

Will there be any special problem about visas for people from the United States?

Best wishes.

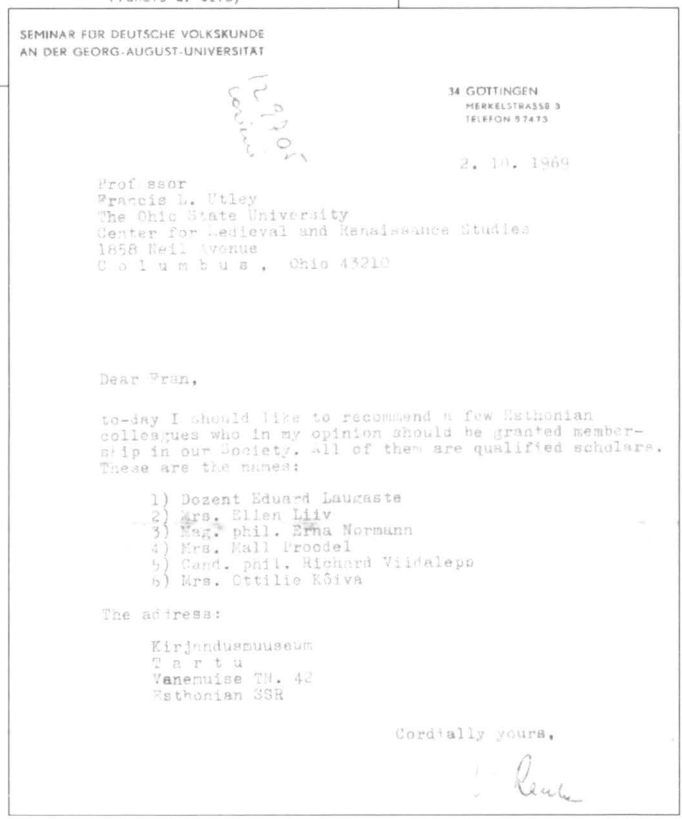
Cordially yours,

Francis L. Utley

FLU:lb

Enc: Ranke Xerox

92. As Utley sends to Pop the Ranke's letter, also this one has a copy destined to Ranke. Securing discipline, Utley can rest assured Ranke's list and wish (the "acquisition" of 6 Estonians) will be respected/applied.



SEMINAR FÜR DEUTSCHE VOLKSKUNDE
AN DER GEORG-AUGUST-UNIVERSITÄT

34 GÖTTINGEN
MERKELSTRASSE 3
TELEFON 57473

2. 10. 1969

Prof ssor
Francis L. Utley
The Ohio State University
Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies
1858 Neil Avenue
C o l u m b u s , Ohio 43210

Dear Fran,

to-day I should like to recommend a few Esthonian colleagues who in my opinion should be granted membership in our Society. All of them are qualified scholars. These are the names:

1) Dozent Eduard Laugaste
2) Mrs. Ellen Liiv
3) Mag. phil. Erna Normann
4) Mrs. Mall Proodel
5) Cand. phil. Richard Viidalepp
6) Mrs. Ottilie Kõiva

The address:

Kirjandusmuuseum
T a r t u
Vanemuise TN. 42
Esthonian SSR

Cordially yours,

Ranke

93. Kurt Ranke's straight and less sophisticatedly motivated list (redirected to Pop).

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94. The reassuring letter from Bucharest. Salute ("Sincerely yours"), holograph signature, clear name ("Prof. Mihai Pop") are just obscured, not missing.

29th March 1969

Prof. Frances L. Utley
The Ohio State University
Center for Medieval and Renaissance
Studies
1858 Neil Avenue
COLUMBUS, Ohio 43210

Dear Mr. Utley,

Concerning your letter of March 3, where you joined a copy of Mr. Ranke'e letter, I am glad to let you know that we have already sent the invitation to the Estonian members of the Tartu Museum who want to participate in our Congress. Professor Ranke had already written us about this matter, so that until now all is in good order.

You will soon receive the second circular where all details about visas, room-booking, a.s.o. will be given. I can tell you in advance that obtaining the Romanian visa is a most simple matter.

Yours,

Pop

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
CENTER OF MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE STUDIES
1858 NEIL AVENUE
COLUMBUS, OHIO 43210

April 14, 1969

Professor Mihai Pop
Akademia RSR
Institutul de Etnografie şi Folclor
Bucureşti , Str. Nikos Beloiannis nr. 25
RUMANIA

Dear Mihai:

Thank you for your letter of March 5.

I am sorry that I did not choose between the two titles I gave you. It was a long time ago, and I was still making up my mind.

"The Urban and the Rural Jest" would have been good, but I have already sent it to the editor of the Delargy Festschrift, and so it would not be available for publication. May I therefore broaden the original alternative, and offer this title:

"The Medieval Folk Jest, with Special Emphasis on Chaucer and Boccaccio."

Your plans sound splendid. The International Folklore Festival will be especially exciting. I presume we shall see some of that magnificent Balkan folk dancing?

I hope also that I shall see you in Budapest, May 26-31?

Cordially yours,

Francis Lee Utley

95. Utley changes his paper (sent for publication) and submit another title now – "attention, the title!" says Pop's blue note. And cares for the dates of "airmail" arrival.

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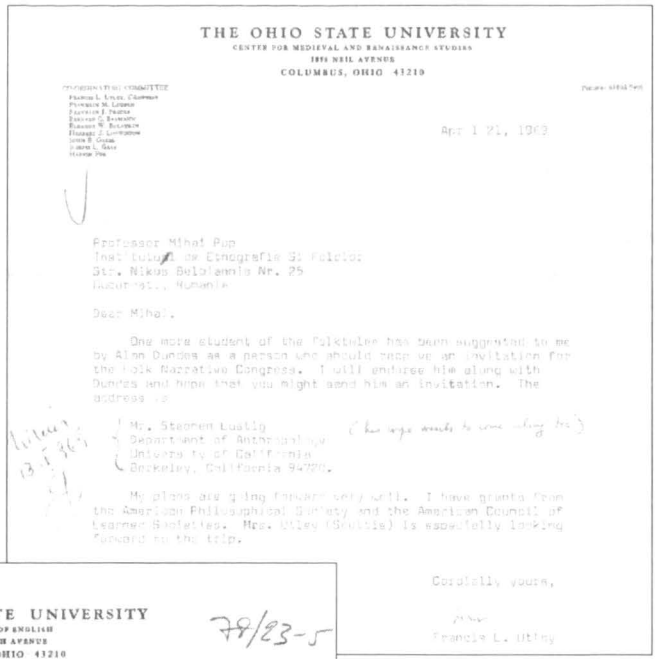


THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
CENTER FOR MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE STUDIES
1816 NEIL AVENUE
COLUMBUS, OHIO 43210

Apr 1 21, 1969

Professor Mihai Pop
Institutul de Etnografie Si Folclor
Str. Nikos Beldiceanu Nr. 25
Bucuresti, Romania

Dear Mihai,

One more student of the folktales has been suggested to me by Alan Dundes as a person who would keep up an invitation for the Folk Narrative Congress. I will endorse him along with Dundes and hope that you might send him an invitation. The address is:

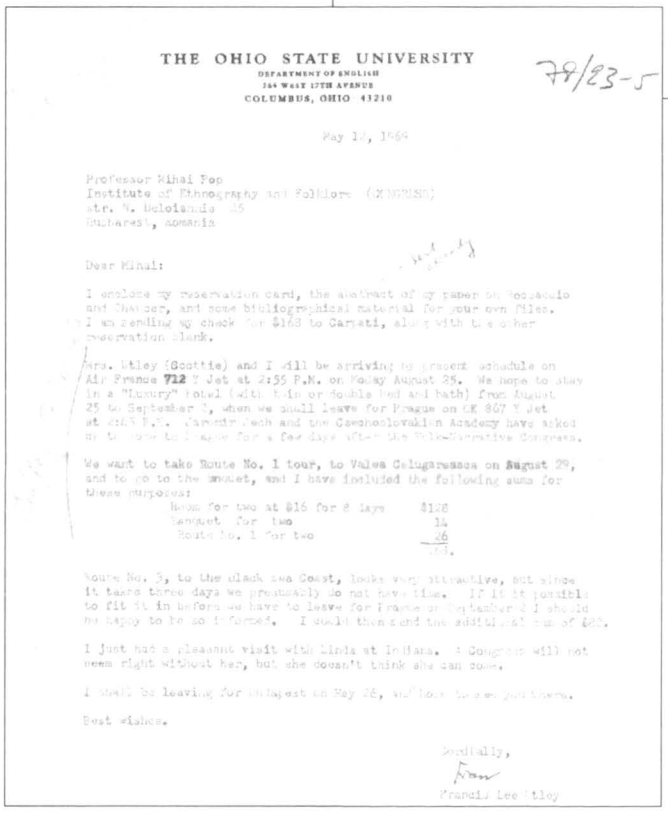
Mr. Stephen Lustig
Department of Anthropology
University of California
Berkeley, California 94720.

My plans are going forward very well. I have grants from the American Philosophical Society and the American Council of Learned Societies. Mrs. Utley (Scottie) is especially looking forward to the trip.

Cordially yours,

Francis L. Utley

96. On Alan Dundes's suggestion, Utley recommends the student Stephan Lustig to be invited. The blue note (+ date) certifies it was done.



THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH
164 WEST 17TH AVENUE
COLUMBUS, OHIO 43210

79/23-5

May 14, 1969

Professor Mihai Pop
Institute of Ethnography and Folklore (CX NOTES)
Str. N. Beloiannis 25
Bucharest, Romania

Dear Mihai:

I enclose my reservation card, the abstract of my paper on Rodiadello and Chaucer, and some bibliographical material for your own files. I am sending my check for $163 to Carnati, along with the other reservation blank.

Mrs. Utley (Scottie) and I will be arriving by present schedule on Air France 712 Y Jet at 2:55 P.M. on Monday August 25. We hope to stay in a "luxury" hotel (with twin or double bed and bath) from August 25 to September 2, when we shall leave for Prague on CK 867 Y Jet at 6:45 P.M. Charmin Czech and the Czechoslovakian Academy have asked us to come to Prague for a few days after the Folk-Narrative Congress.

We want to take Route No. 1 tour, to Valea Calugaresasca on August 29, and to go to the banquet, and I have included the following sums for these purposes:

Room for two at $16 for 8 days	$128
Banquet for two	14
Route No. 1 for two	26
	$168.

Route No. 3, to the Black Sea Coast, looks very attractive, but since it takes three days we presumably do not have time. If it is possible to fit it in before we have to leave for France on September 2 I should be happy to be so informed. I could then send the additional sum of $25.

I just had a pleasant visit with Linda at Indiana. Congress will not seem right without her, but she doesn't think she can come.

I shall be leaving for Budapest on May 26, and look forward to seeing you there.

Best wishes.

Cordially,

Francis Lee Utley

97. A very pragmatic message, going to meet Pop's appreciation.

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Bucharest, 2nd June

Prof.Francis Lee Utley
The Ohio State University
Dept. of English
164 West 17th Avenue
COLUMBUS, Ohio 43210

Dear Francis,

Thank you for your letter of May 12th which is the most clear and accurate letter we received from all the participants.

It is useless to say that everything will be in order and that we will give personnaly our attention to your comfort.

We are expecting you and Mrs Utley with the greatest joy.

Sincerely yours,

Prof.Mihai Pop

98. Covering Utley's institutional logo-header and the list of his Center's committee.

ERSITY
UDIES

June 13, 1969

Professor Mihai Pop
Institutul de Etnografie Si Folclor
Str. Nikos Belvoiannis Nr. 25
Bucuresti, Rumania

Dear Mihai:

Thanks for your recent letter. I am glad that everything worked out decently.

I am just back from the meeting in Budapest. It was very profitable, but we were sorry that you and Kurt Ranke were not present. We should probably want to wrap up some major problems at our Bucharest meeting, among them Ortutay's ideas about organized field work and some of my own suggestions about a permanent secretariat for the society, membership dues, and a news letter. I will talk them over with you and Kurt when I get there.

One last request: when I was coming back through London, I met Cyril Mundy, who has been a regular member of the society from the beginning. He has not received an invitation, probably because he is no longer with the London School of Oriental Studies. His present address is 7 Lansdowne Road, Tunbridge Wells, Kent, England. He was really hurt and I told him I would write you. He is too valuable a member to lose, with his strong knowledge of Greek, Turkish, and English folk narrative.

Best wishes. We all look forward to Bucharest.

Cordially,

Francis L. Utley

FLU:go

99. M. Pop underlines the first paragraph ("meeting") planning to inquire about it (see next doc), and immediately stresses the second paragraph, fixing the problem on the spot ("the address solved").

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Bucharest, June 27

Prof. Francis L. Ultey
The Ohio State University
Center for Medieval and
Renaissance Studies
1858 Neil Avenue
COLUMBUS, Ohio 43210

Dear Friend,

Your letter of June 13 explained us why the invitation we sent to Mr. Cyvil Mundy was returned as being unknown. We sent immediately the necessary material at the new address and hope that it reaches him in good time.

You'll find enclosed some leaflets of our Touring Society so that you can fix the further plan of your vacation in Romania. As we understood from the colleague Radu Niculescu whom you met in Budapest, you intend to spend some days on the Black Sea Shore.

We are now establishing the definive program of the Congres. Soon some more on it.

Cordially yours,

Prof. Mihai Pop

100. Confirming the wrong address issue was solved (Cyril Mundy invited), Pop makes sure all sensitivities are at ease and peace.

وزارة الثقافة

الثقافة الجماهيرية

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101. Another redirected letter, from Ranke to Pop, signed & sent by Abd-el-Hamid Youniss (Cairo University). Included in the Program, expected to speak about a jester (as promising here), he might not made it to Bucharest in August '69. No paper of him was to be found & published.

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Ending Notes

In regard with the 1st documents batch (REF/JEF 1-2/2023: 265-293, doc. no. 1 to 43b), in the exchange between the Organizing Committee (signed mainly by Mihai Pop, at times by his informal deputy Al.I. Amzulescu), there are letters written and signed by (as well as sent to) S.A. Babalola (doc 1-3/p. 271-72), O. Blehr (4-6/272-73), L. Blumberg (7/274), D.E. Bynum (8/274), J.W. Childers (9/275), A. de Félice (10-12/275-76), S. Domokos (13/277), B.M. du Toit (14/277), A. Dundes (15-18/278-79), R. Gwindaf Jones (19-20/280), W.D. Hand (21-27, 30/281-86), L. Dégh (28-29/285-86), L. Honko (31/287), J.S. Kolsty (33-34/288), A. Kovács (35-36/289), D.P. Kunene (37-38/290), R. Lecotté (39-43b/291-93). Apart from the named ones, either in that 1st part presentation text or inside the letters themselves one could also notice the names of other characters who did play consistent roles in the international history of the ethnological scholarship: K. Ranke, T.A. Sebeok, C.-H. Tillhagen, K.M. Briggs, G. Burde-Schneidewind, S.G. Sankar/Shankar, R. del Conte, B.H. Granger, A.B. Lord, K. Luomala, K.C. Peeters, R. Wildhaber, A. Dundes, F.L. Utley, D.K. Wilgus, R. Dorson, J.B. Toelken, T. Dömötör, V. Diószegi, M. Hoppál, K.C. Peeters, J. Cuisenier, R. Pinon, A. Varagnac. And, of course, the frequent Mihai Pop and Al.I. Amzulescu. Just a detail: commenting on doc no. 30 (p. 286) the explanation referring to the visual documentation of Tekla Dömötör's presence in the Bucharest Congress came out in a conflicting or ambiguous form. To be correct, both photos on p. 270 show her, active, as the single woman in the improvised leading & managing ISFNR committee.

In this second (2024) section, there are letters from and/or to M. Lüthi (doc. no. 44a-49b), J. Maitlis (50), M. Matičetov (51-54), W.F.H. Nicolaisen (55-56), N.-T. Ting (57-59), A.J. Patel (60a-63), J. Pentikäinen (64), K. Ranke (65 + photo alongside K.C. Peeters), L. Renzi (66-70), J.R. Sabogal Wiesse (71-72), N. Salem (73-77), S.L. Robe (78), F. Sylvan (79-80), J.B. Toelken (81), H.S. Upadhyaya (junior) & (senior) K.D. Upadhyaya (82-84 & 85-87b), J.N. Ure (87), F.L. Utley (set 88-100, containing insertions to/from D. Petropoulos & D. Loukatos [89 & 91], and K. Ranke [93]), A.-H. Youniss (101, via Ranke). And of course, the indefatigable, ubiquitous M. Pop (plus/minus his handyman/deputy Amzulescu). Many of the above mentioned names (Part 1) reoccur. As within the previous documents batch (no. 1-43b), also here many other scholars of the time are mentioned, presented, recommended and/or discussed within the text contents of many letters. Plus a few new, such as M. Gaster, I. Wahba, M.A. Kiriakidou-Nestoros, V. Voigt, I. Nagy-Kriza. On doc 65 the list of 8+10 names that were forwarded by the president as leading figures of the ISFNR are worth checking up, though many of those empowered persons, due to their physical absence in the Congress, were (hence still are) not mentioned in the presented/recovered texts, letters, and photos. The same... recommending an Estonian group of 6, is to be seen in doc 93.

Most of the mentioned people came to Bucharest and delivered their presentation within the ISFNR Congress, and most of their academic papers are being already published here since the 2016 volume. Both here and with the first bulk of letters, other original texts and iconographic captures of 1969 colleagues were represented

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only here and thus specified just once. For a much wider knowledge and a much better representation of the present recuperative work one should definitely check up with the entire series of the 5th ISFNR Congress photos and academic papers, published in the REF/JEF since 2016 (and programmed to end up in 2029), under the Restitutio section title.

A final issue may be raised in respect with form, aspect, visibility, and documents size. Irregular, less conventional or just symbolic here, the space management technics applied invalidates the old-time/outdated concept of facsimile reproduction. An immortalizing practice which, obviously, has become nowadays obsolete or useless for a general interest or information printing, as once digitized all archival documents can be provided, enlarged or reprocessed at ease and at will. In this respect, for minute particulars or peculiarities, all original Congress presented texts, here published correspondence letters, as well as photos, can be supplied on request, as scans of much better visual and legible resolution. Regarding the letters, just ask for AIEF ms–270.

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Yliopisto), Finland, 1978-1979; 1992-1995. Author of specialized studies, university courses, synthesis (in Romanian): *The rime in Romanian folk poetry*, 1973; *Reading of the folklore text*, 1986; *Kinship in traditional society. Reflexes in Romanian folklore*, 1987 – «Sim. Fl. Marian» prize of the Romanian Academy; *Romanian Folk Tales* (2008) (in collaboration), Perpessicius Prize (critical editions) awarded by the National Museum of Romanian Literature (2010); *Anthropological culture*, 2016. Recently published the volumes *Constantin Brăiloiu, folklore collector and editor*, I-II, 2018, III, 2019. Member of the Romanian Writters Union.

Loredana Ionela CUREA – PhD candidate at the Doctoral School "History. Civilization. Culture" at Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca, focusing on visual arts, gender studies, and social history. Her thesis is titled *All about Eve: The Image of Women in the Compositions Dedicated to the Last Judgment in the Wooden churches of Maramureş in the XVIII-XIXth centuries*. She graduated from the Faculty of History and Philosophy at Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca, specializing in medieval and premodern history, and undertook a Master's program in "Society, Art and Identities in Central Europe: From the Middle Ages to Modern era", completed with a dissertation on *The Image of the Witch in the wooden churches of Maramureş*. Email: loredana.curea @yahoo.com.

Esra ÇELİK – lives in Konya, Türkiye. She is Research Assistant at Selcuk University, Faculty of Veterinary Medicine, History of Veterinary Medicine and Deontology Department. She is also in the PhD stage in this department and folkloric veterinary medicine is also among the fields of her study. There are also pigeon-themed folkloric studies that the researcher has worked on recently. ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7836-6171; email: esra.celik@selcuk.edu.tr.

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in Serbia. Distinctive Aspects of Religion and Ethnicity of Romanians in Vojvodina (Institute for Balkan Studies SASA, 2015), *Orthodox Christian Renewal Movements in Eastern Europe*, co-edited with Radmila Radić (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017). Email: aleksandra.djuric@bi.sanu.ac.rs.

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unofficially edited the "Revista de etnografie şi folclor" during its national 3rd „new series" (1986-1990), and formally edited its international series, "Revista de etnografie şi folclor / Journal of Ethnography and Folklore" (2007–) of the Romanian Academy. Twelve books published and numerous academic and cultural articles in national and international venues. Email: mmbalasa@yahoo.com.

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Mihaela NUBERT-CHEŢAN – born in Bucharest (Romania), is senior researcher with the "Constantin Brailoiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore, Bucharest. She graduated from the Musicology Department of the "Ciprian Porumbescu" Music Conservatory (Bucharest), and defended her doctoral dissertation at the National University of Music (Bucharest), with the topic *Music in the Romanian Folk Theatre*. In 2005-2006 she was the coordinator of the project *Istroromânii. Repere identitare în contemporaneitate* (The Istro-Romanians: Contemporary Identity Highlights). Main domains of interest: Romanian minorities, fieldwork, archiving techniques.

Mircea PĂDURARU – lecturer with the "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University in Iaşi (Faculty of Letters), he teaches ethnology as well as seminars on postwar and contemporary literature. Areas of interest, in which he's published in recent years, are ethnology of religion, material religion, ethnology and power, ethnography and ecclesiology, demonology. Member of several local and international professional associations and research groups (International Society for Ethnology and Folklore, International Society for Folk Narrative Research, Ecclesiology and Ethnography, Association of Ethnological Studies in Romania, etc.). For *Representation of the Devil in the Romanian Literary Imaginary* (Iasi, UAIC Publishing House, 2012) he received the "Aurel Leon" award, offered by "Ziarul de Iaşi", and a Debut Award in Literary Criticism, from "Convorbiri Literare" magazine (2013). Mircea Păduraru has carried out training and research internships in Utrecht, Jena, Chicago, Rome, etc., has over 90 participations in specialized conferences and congresses country-wise and abroad, and has published more than 100 essays, articles and reviews in specialized journals and collective volumes locally and internationally.

Ioan POP-CURŞEU – (b. 4.02.1978, Ocna-Mureş) since 2020, Professor at the Faculty of Theatre and Film, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, where he taught for 15 years. He has defended his first PhD dissertation at the University of Geneva in 2007 (*De l'homme hyperbolique au texte impossible: théâtralité, theatre(s), ébauches de pièces chez Baudelaire*), and the second at Babeş-Bolyai University,

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Cluj-Napoca in 2011 (*Magic and Witchcraft in Romanian Culture*). In 2015, he defended his habilitation dissertation at Babeş-Bolyai University and in 2016 he became a member of Academia Europaea, section: *Film, Media and Visual Studies*. His research interests are concerned with film aesthetics, art criticism and image theory, nineteenth-century literature and culture, as well as anthropological aspects of magic and witchcraft. He wrote around 150 articles on various themes, writers, and films. His most important books: *Magie şi vrăjitorie în cultura română. Istorie, literatură, mentalităţi* (2013), *Iconografia vrăjitoriei în arta religioasă românească. Eseu de antropologie vizuală* (2020, in collaboration with Ştefana Pop-Curşeu), *Etudes comparatives sur la sorcellerie. Anthropologie, cinéma, littérature, arts visuels* (2021), *Witchcraft in Romania* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2022, in collaboration with Ştefana Pop-Curşeu). Email: ioan. pop-curseu@ubbcluj.ro.

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Maxim Anatol'evich YUYUKIN – PhD in Philology (thesis defended at the Voronezh State University in 2002), an independent researcher. In 1997-1998 as a Presidential Grant holder at the Faculty of Education, the Charles University (Prague). Author of about 60 published works in the field of (Old) Russian and Slavic onomastics, etymology, and folklore. Among them are: *Этимологический словарь летописных географических названий северной и восточной Руси* [Etymological Dictionary of Annalistic Place Names of Northern and Eastern Ruthenia], Moscow: Flinta, 2015; *Очерки ономастики Древней Руси: сборник статей* [Essays on Onomastics of Ancient Ruthenia: a Collection of Articles], Moscow: Flinta, 2016, and articles in many prominent scientific journals: *Acta Baltico-Slavica*, *Balkansko ezikoznanie / Linguistique balkanique*, *Die Welt der Slaven*, *Europa Orientalis – Studi e ricerche sui paesi e le culture dell'Est europeo*, *Folia onomastica Croatica*, *Jazykovedný časopis*, *Jezikoslovni zapiski*, *Onomastica*, *Rocznik orientalistyczny*, *Russkij jazyk v shkole*, *Scando-Slavica*, *Slavia Orientalis*, *Studia Mythologica Slavica*, *Studia Slavica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, *Studia Slavica Savariensia*, *Studia z filologii polskiej i słowiańskiej*, *Studies about languages / Kalbų studijos*, and others. He has also published a historical novel *Ivan Kalita* (Moscow: Yauza; Eksmo, 2009). Email: yuyukin@bk.ru.

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Published by the Romanian Academy, this journal was founded in 1956 – reason why it still bears in its title the original, Romanian name, followed by its English version. Yet, since 2007 it has become fully international, publishing academic articles in international languages only.

REF/JEF is ISI–Thomson-Reuters/Clarivate acknowledged, and indexed in many venues (such as Arts and Humanities/Web of Knowledge).

Worldwide colleagues are invited to contribute to the REF/JEF by submitting fully-developed academic essays, and/or book reviews that pertain to cultural studies or to other related/cognate disciplines that have the traditional or vernacular cultures at their core.

There also are no anticipatory themes or topics for each individual volume. The table of contents is shaped in accordance to the nature or contents of the accepted papers, volume sections getting titled and entries grouped as the articles can be directly or indirectly, by various elements or suggestions, connectable.

There are no payable fees for authors to publish with this periodical, thus only contributions of honorable and high academic standards are accepted; this, based on a serious/severe peer-reviewing principle and recommendation, which applies consistently.

The journal's editorial board is not responsible for any of the ideological and/or political side-takings, stances or overtones that may surface, voluntarily or involuntarily, from authors.

Since intellectual quality of the works and ideas submitted are valued first, authors are invited to submit their articles as they were conceived and naturally took shape, any stylistic reformatting being requested only after the articles were accepted for publication.

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